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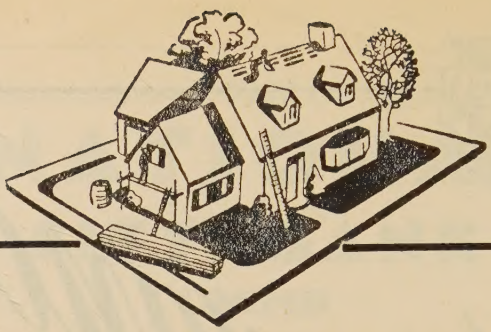

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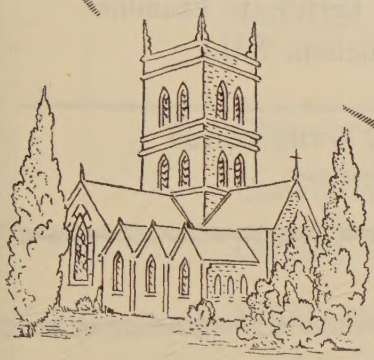

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MODERN IRELAND: TWO INTERPRETATIONS

BY MICHAEL TIERNEY

President, University College, Dublin

BOOKS on Irish history, good, bad, or indifferent, are sufficiently rare to be worth welcome irrespective of their quality. The appearance so close together of two large works such as those listed below, coming as they do from the same publishing firm, and treating of the same subject from such strikingly different points of view, is an event of quite unusual interest. The fact that both works are interpretative rather than strictly historical in their treatment, while indicating the need for greater caution in their use by the young student, rather increases than lessens that interest for the general reader. The difference between their points of view is so great that a synthesis is scarcely possible. Mr. O'Hegarty's large book (seven hundred and eighty-seven outsize pages) is an apologia for nationalism of the kind that finally won the Treaty of 1921. Its author is one of the best-known and most respected nationalists, who himself played a prominent and valuable part in the pre-Treaty struggle. There are rumours that Mr. Strauss, whom the dust-cover of his book calls an Austrian by birth, has never been in Ireland. Certain oddities in the book, such as frequent references to St. Stephen's Green as the location of the pre-Union Parliament House, encourage belief in such rumours. Yet the final impression it makes is that of a powerful and well-trained intelligence marshalling with ease an imposing quantity of well-selected material under the inspiration of the Marxist historical theory, here for the first time thoroughly applied to this particular subject.

In a prefatory note, Mr. O'Hegarty quite frankly admits that he has been " concerned almost wholly with political history," to which, he holds, social and economic factors are subordinate. " I am unable " he says " to accept either the economic or the class-conscious interpretation of history." Mr. Strauss is clearly unable to accept any other interpretation, so that the contrast between them is capable of being unusually instructive. Each offers a great deal of positive value in the way of skilfully-organised fact and mature reflection. More fascinating than this, however, is the opportunity afforded by their juxtaposition to consider Irish history as affected in its presentation by two such widely distinct and yet also widely accepted doctrines. Such a consideration should at least help the general reader and the citizen—*de quo fabula narratur*—to exercise his

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A History of Ireland under the Union 1801—1922. By P. S. O'Hegarty. London: Methuen. 1952. 50s. net.

Irish Nationalism and British Democracy. By E. Strauss. London. Methuen. 1951. 21s. net.

judgment in a task which is rather essential to his performance of his normal functions : the hard task of distinguishing between the real and the merely fashionable or mythological elements in the political problems that confront him from day to day.

Mr. O'Hegarty's book, quite naturally in view of its author's age and of his particular experience, reads like an old-time patriot's justification. Its excessive size, which makes it uncomfortable to hold, is the consequence of its unnecessary length, which in turn is caused by undue repetition. For Mr. O'Hegarty, the longest way round seems to be always the shortest way home. A conscientious editor would certainly cut his book by one-third, very much to its improvement. Its limits were obviously set by two definite dates. There is justification for going back before the Union more than Mr. O'Hegarty does, if only to make the Union itself more intelligible. There is very little, if any, justification for the Epilogue in which he gives an imperfect sketch of events between 1922 and 1927 and ends by narrating the entry of the Fianna Fáil Party into the Dáil, as if that action constituted an epoch more important even than the Treaty itself. Mr. O'Hegarty wrote several years ago a striking and able, if very personal, book on *The Victory of Sinn Fein*. Curiously enough, the section of his present work devoted to the same subject makes a much greater impression of sketchiness, as if the participator in great events found them more rather than less confusing as they receded into the past. It is probable that the time has not yet come to write the history of the Treaty and its sequel. In any case a larger scale is needed than was possible for Mr. O'Hegarty.

In a moving dedicatory preface, written in May 1949 and addressed to Bulmer Hobson and Robert Lynd,—the latter of whom has since died—Mr. O'Hegarty speaks of their political association with him in their young manhood over forty years ago, and remarks that " as a result of an intensive examination of the available material, I have found myself modifying, or discarding, certain conclusions which we all held." What gives his book its very special value is the fact that it records, in the form of a history of Ireland, the subtle but striking changes which the pressure of events has brought about in the mentality of a whole generation—and a great one. It thus provides the new generation of to-day with some solid ground upon which to stand, in the Janus-like attitude which past politics and present history impose upon it, facing both the past and the future. Every generation must re-interpret for itself the history which has made it what it is, and upon this interpretation must depend its action. Mr. O'Hegarty's considerable personal share in the events which led to our freedom combines in this book with his very special personal qualities, and the personal growth which so subtly affects his judgment, to present his readers with self-educative material of quite unique value. They are enabled to see one of the great myth-makers of a seminal period engaged

on the work of re-thinking the mythology he helped to fashion, and recording the slow evolution of his attitude towards that mythology.

Perhaps the first test of a historian of nineteenth-century Ireland is his view of O'Connell. This not merely reflects his objective judgment on a most important historical problem : it also reveals his subjective approach, that often unconscious bias which it is as futile for the writer to try to suppress as it is for the reader to suppose absent. Forty years ago it was an article of faith for politicians of Mr. O'Hegarty's school to criticise O'Connell, expecially for his " failure " at Clontarf, so vigorously as almost to write him off completely. In this they were deeply influenced by the writings of John Mitchel, whose Carlylean prose style has won him a place in the canon of Irish political saints far above his deserts. Following Mitchel and other dithyrambic exponents of theoretical force like Meagher, the Fenians went to the opposite extreme from O'Connell, and the Fenian doctrine has had its lasting effect on the most surprising people, especially in this matter of their condemnation of O'Connell. It is one of the great merits of Mr. O'Hegarty that he has thought the whole thing out afresh, and while still maintaining the thesis that O'Connell should have provoked a massacre at Clontarf, admits that if the leader was at fault his critics, having no alternative policy at the time, had no very firm grounds for their criticism. O'Connell emerges from Mr. O'Hegarty's pages with much of his old prestige restored ; and his Young Ireland successors are correspondingly shorn of some of the exaggerated credit which their eloquence secured for them from later generations. Thus, while still respectful towards what have been called the traditional pieties of Irish history, Mr. O'Hegarty does a good deal to redress the balance.

The same applies even more emphatically to his treatment of Parnell. On the still smouldering controversy about the divorce and its sequel he takes the orthodox view of the extreme nationalist. " The only justification for deposing him would be something bearing on his political fitness and not his non-adhesion to a code of conduct which was not his." Parnell's re-election to the leadership on 25th November, 1890, eight days after the conclusion of the Divorce Court proceedings, " placed him in the right, for the operative force behind the call for his deposition was Gladstone's letter, taken as an ultimatum." This is of course Parnell's own case adopted in full. Having succeeded in swallowing it, one is surprised that Mr. O'Hegarty makes such a fuss about the anti-Treaty case against the Treaty, which is a compound of very similar elements—for instance the " ultimatum " alleged to have caused the Civil War. He fails to see how very unjust Parnell's tragic situation made him to Gladstone, whom Mr. O'Hegarty elsewhere rightly praises for his burning sincerity ; nor does he advert to the striking fact that Parnell was willing to resign in 1882 over another moral issue—the Phœnix Park murders—in relation to which he had no personal responsibility at all. On the other hand,

Mr. O'Hegarty does much to bring the events of Parnell's life into right proportion and to show that its real climax was not in 1890 but at the time of the Kilmainham Treaty in 1882, when the Invincibles dashed substantial victory out of his hands. One of the most pleasing things about the book is that in it Gladstone—whom Parnell in his despair called " the grand old spider "—appears as almost as great a friend and benefactor of Ireland as Parnell himself.

Obviously Mr. O'Hegarty's way of writing history is not that of the trained historian. It is that of the reminiscent politician whose contribution to politics has been through a superior type of journalism. The long quotations from a wide variety of sources—speeches, manifestos, reports of commissions, articles from publications now out of reach of the ordinary reader—give it almost the character of a kind of chrestomathy, by which the student is generously helped to differ with the author if he thinks fit. About the Fenians Mr. O'Hegarty speaks of course with a special authority, and the half-dozen or so chapters he devotes to them are full of most valuable material. To a lesser extent, perhaps, this applies also to his chapters on the early years of Sinn Fein, though here he seems a little to be affected by the curious law of diminishing returns which renders him less good on the history he has helped to make. Perhaps it is largely a question of relative age, but I wonder whether others of my own particular generation will not miss in Mr. O'Hegarty's pages something of the thrill that came to us out of the first numbers of the new *Irish Volunteer*—on page 693 he strangely calls it *The Irish Volunteers*—after the outbreak of war and the split with the Redmondites. He tells the story of 1916 with conspicuous fairness, though I think he might have omitted his rather absurd explanation, on page 698, of the success of those who plotted the insurrection, by reference to the " temperamental indolence " of MacNeill, to whose personal initiative and energy he elsewhere fully admits were due both the Volunteers and the Gaelic League—rather a lot for a lazy man.

Mr. Strauss's book will not be found as pleasant reading by the normal Irish nationalist as will Mr. O'Hegarty's. Apart from the fact that as history it is a *tour de force*, it is written in a strangely technical style which obviously belongs just as much to its author's Marxist training as does his remarkable mechanical method. To the student who learns to use it critically it offers a most instructive example of how the Marxist technique works. Both style and method remind one of nothing so much as an elaborate machine for stamping out material in a rigidly stereotyped pattern, which produces the same pattern more or less successfully irrespective of the material's qualities. The Marxist interpretation of history is inoperable without the class struggle, which it supposes to be ceaselessly in process and to be governed by pre-destined laws leading inevitably even through failure after failure to the emergence of the proletarian dictatorship.

The Marxist classes, which are the true units of history thus viewed, are strictly the product of material conditions and the reflex of pre-ordained economic causes which in turn are seen as developing by what is called a " dialectic " process in which " thesis " is met by " antithesis " in a clash of opposites and their violent collision produces a " synthesis." Thus the clash between " feudalism " and " capitalism," both of which are thought of not as vague aspects of certain historical epochs but as almost personal forces, is supposed to give rise to the dictatorship of the proletariat ; but this latter is only a stage on the road to the communist millenium under which the State is to wither away and the Dialectic to come to an end. In the same way " imperialism " and " colonialism " are by-products of capitalism in the expansion which is fated to lead to its breakdown.

It is essential for the reader to understand from the outset that such terms as " the masses," " imperialism," " colonialism " and " revolution " are used by Mr. Strauss not casually and vaguely as some of them are in the nationalist jargon, but as strictly technical terms intelligible only by reference to the Marxist scheme. Once such an understanding has been reached, *Irish Nationalism and British Democracy* should prove less shocking than it has apparently been to some readers, and may prove instructive. Seldom in any case has the Marxist method been more thoroughly applied. This is particularly obvious in the case of the Church, to which Mr. Strauss, significantly enough, finds himself compelled to devote a whole chapter, headed " The Era of Clericalism." To the true Marxist, the Church only enters history as the product and the champion of " interests," which are themselves the expression of " social forces " conceived in an entirely material way. Thus when Stalin asked " how many divisions has the Pope ? " he was in effect allowing His Holiness to influence—or fail to influence—the march of events at a particular moment in the only way provided for by the Dialectic. Mr. Strauss proceeds in precisely the same way to discuss the Church's role in Irish history. In spite of appearances, the Church to him is a purely material force with purely material effects ; and the rigidity of his historical doctrine precludes him from assessing with any degree of correctness either its spiritual influence on such questions as Fenianism and the Parnell divorce affair or even its exact position in the structure of Irish society.

The same rigidity impels Mr. Strauss to interpret the whole development of Irish nationalism in a way which is again and again misleading. Unable to work in the absence of anything corresponding to the Marxist class-structure, he has to invent " classes " which either had no substantial existence or possessed far less importance as inchoate groupings or types than he assigns to them. An interesting, if perhaps minor, example of this misconception occurs at the end of his chapter on the Treaty. He seizes on what he calls the " paradox " that, in Mr. Pierce Beasley's words,

some of the Western districts " which proved so peaceful under the Black and Tan régime became aggressively warlike after the Treaty was signed " as throwing " a glaring light on the crucial implications of Sinn Fein's conservative social policy " and as showing that " the social revolution which Sinn Fein had kept within the narrow channels of a national struggle against England was trying to find an outlet now that the English enemy had withdrawn." Only those familiar with the reality of conditions in the West at the time will be able to grasp to the full the colossal absurdity of this judgment, which is after all merely the mechanical product of the Marxist machine when fed, as Mr. Strauss assiduously feeds it, with a selection of suspicious-looking facts. This one example will serve to illuminate the working of his machine in more subtle instances, where the perversion is so plausible as almost to mislead any but the wariest reader. Such an instance is his invocation of a " Catholic middle class " of which O'Connell is merely the rather blunt and useless implement, and which, when it has served this purpose of explaining him away, is whisked out of existence, allegedly as a rather surprising result of the Famine.

It is instructive to note that there is no reason at all to take Mr. Strauss for a Communist in the present-day meaning of the term. For all one knows, he may just as well be a follower of Karl Kautsky or any other light of the Second International. This does not in the least diminish his zeal and determination as a Marxist interpreter working in an improbable field. On the contrary, any thorough-going follower of Marx who turns his attention to Irish history will be quite likely to give us a similar series of mechanised distortions. Indeed his judgment on Parnell for instance, to which we shall return later, might serve as almost a classic example of the capacity for misreading history in the light of dogma which has distinguished all Marxists from their founder downwards. A careful study of this honest and in its own way powerful book will throw new light on a great deal in present-day Communist propaganda which seems at first sight bewildering and almost diabolically perverse. Some reviewers of Mr. Strauss, themselves prisoners of a doctrine less perverse indeed but almost equally " rationalist " in origin and cramping in its effects, have treated his book as the product of anti-Irish bias when it is merely the conscientious application to Ireland of a method almost accepted as historical orthodoxy when applied elsewhere. As always with Marxist history, his work has the basic good qualities of thoroughness and industry, and where he is not forced to invent categories and imagine barriers between them even more unreal than they themselves are bloodless, it often enables us to see familiar events and persons in a new light. Nothing is more valuable for the student of Irish history than to be assisted to step outside the romantic, half-mythological, version of it with which he has usually grown up. Mr. O'Hegarty, by reason of the changes in his point of view to which he refers, helps to shift the perspective and put certain

things in a clearer focus. Mr. Strauss brings us outside the traditional structure into a strange and wonderful new world, and we can derive benefit from its strangeness even when we have seen through some of its wonders.

The origin of the nationalist concept of the transcendent nation, which supplies Mr. O'Hegarty with his particular unit of history, is perhaps more complex than that of the theory of class-war ; yet it is hardly unfair to say that in its extreme form it is quite as unreal as the Marxist concept. Like the latter, it can have a subtly misleading plausibility, especially because it is so easily fused with a rather more generous, and also more powerful, emotional appeal. Thus an unwary reader might easily assume that there is " something in " Mr. Strauss's Catholic middle-class, though in reality it is just a hypostatised Marxist category. In the same way many an Irishman has in fact been swept off his feet by the nationalist concept of a transcendent nation, embracing in itself the most diverse and indeed mutually hostile elements in Irish life and given almost the attributes of divinity. Both " class " and " nation " are of course such natural concepts as to be almost instinctive. What is not so readily grasped is that both have been seized upon by " philosophers " and given a new context, a new meaning, and a new power, for the purpose of promoting revolution. This is clearer in the case of the Marxist " class " than in that of the " nation," for the simple reason that Marx was deliberately trying to produce a new explosive force under the impression that the " nation " had failed with the failure of revolutionary France. He was wrong in this, as was to be shown not only in 1848 but many times thereafter ; and his disciples, having somewhat mended his hand, are still engaged in using nationalism as the " trigger " for their own proper explosive. The two share some very powerful qualities, notably the tendency to elevate nation and class above " conventional " morality and the appeal which they can make to sympathy for the underdog. Before 1916, in spite of the rigorous purity of Griffith's nationalism, in which Mr. O'Hegarty shares, an incipient Marxism could work quite well even with the ideology of such a man as Pearse, who could write solemnly of Tone, Davis, Lalor and Mitchel as " the four gospels of Irish Nationality " and of Tone's grave as " holier than St. Patrick's grave in Down." There is not really so much to choose between this kind of nationalism and Mr. Strauss's equation of the Church with class-interests.

Mr. O'Hegarty is not of course an integral follower of Pearse, but they have in common the tendency to elevate the nation above morality ; indeed to equip it with a new morality of its own, which has led in the years since the Treaty to strange results on the Continent. As part of the modification of which Mr. O'Hegarty speaks in his preface, we should probably reckon the theory of the " underground nation " which he has arrived at under the influence of Professor Daniel Corkery's *Hidden*

Ireland. As far as it goes, it is surely quite a sound theory. Just as family names, territorial divisions and even diocesan and parochial organisation in Ireland go back beyond the Norman invasion, so the whole community whose history must be the history of Ireland is that ancient one which was in existence long before there were " nations " in the nineteenth-century sense. Through all the buffetings and batterings it has received, though it has lost its ancient language and most of its external cultural characteristics, that community has survived mainly because it has clung to the Catholic faith which is its chief distinguishing mark to-day. Mr. Strauss ignores the real nature of that community, which in fact, as it has survived, is very nearly classless. Likewise Mr. O'Hegarty vitiates his discovery of the " underground nation " by assigning equal reality to what he calls " the garrison nation." In this he is of course merely following men like Grattan, who imagined himself to have called something of the kind into existence in 1782 and to have stood by its bier in 1800. The truth is that the " garrison," in spite of the apparent completion of the conquest in the eighteenth century, has no claim to the title of " nation " any more than, for instance, the Teutonic Knights. Through the many stresses it continually had to undergo and through the influence of what may be called its younger sons, it was not unnatural that it should have deeply affected the thinking of the impoverished and helpless natives.

By a series of strange chances, this latter influence has even provided the natives with an Irish version of European nineteenth century nationalism. Wolfe Tone's chief political exploit was to bring down the old Irish parliament in ruin and provide an excuse for the Union. He was also, however, the principal purveyor to the native Irish of the ideas of the French Revolution, of which he was a fanatical devotee. His entry into Irish political thought was provided by Thomas Davis, who was the real originator of his cult. Like Tone and Davis, it is very striking how many of the most active and articulate Irish patriots of the nineteenth century, from Mitchel through Parnell down to Pearse, were of non-Irish descent. There is nothing at all surprising about the disproportionate volume of their contribution to the struggle for Irish independence, when we consider the state to which the native Irish had been reduced by the end of the seventeenth century. In a sense this contribution is only a later example of the capacity for assimilation which the Irish had long before shown in their contact with the Normans. The latter reduced the country to political and social chaos and kept it in a sort of perpetual heroic age down to the time of the Tudors ; but they also, for this very reason, added something to the country's abiding character. The same may be said of the " garrison " and its various offshoots who, just as did the Normans, became more Irish than the Irish themselves. Now that the garrison is represented in the South by the nostalgia of a dwindling but articulate group, while in the North it has openly assumed the features of a colonial ascendancy

which belong to its nature, we should be able to free our minds of the notions about " middle nations " and " garrison nations " and of the mystifications which made Englishmen by blood appear more Irish than ourselves.

Because it is so frequently presented in nationalist terms, the struggle for survival which is Irish history since at least the Williamite wars is constantly felt by younger readers to be excessively depressing. Grim and desperate it certainly was, but it is at least not quite so depressing in retrospect as it was when every effort seemed but another failure. One object of Mr. Strauss's book, which is evident from its title, is to demonstrate that especially since the Union the struggle was by no means as unequal as is commonly thought. Pitt's attempt to save Ireland for the British crown by swallowing her was acclaimed or lamented by many generations as a success. In the long run it has begun to appear that the consequences for the swallower were almost as grave as for the victim. Mr. Strauss sees these consequences as the slow but inexorable conversion of Great Britain into what he calls democracy, by which he means socialism. " From the time of the Union " he says (p. 70), Ireland's influence on Great Britain . . . was, in fact, the most powerful influence ever exerted by a colony on an imperial power since the cultural penetration of the Roman Empire by Greece . . . It was mainly as a result of the political settlement made at the time of the Union that Irish problems and the Irish people became one of the most powerful factors in British public life." This view has been criticised as extravagant, but it probably only seems so because it is novel. The English tendency to ignore what is unpleasant, as if it could be put out of existence by being sent to a kind of intellectual Coventry, has at all times tempted writers to treat the Irish question as if it had no importance in English politics, whereas it has quite obviously distorted and altered the very system of parties as well as the careers of such great Englishmen as Peel, Derby, Melbourne, Lord John Russell, Gladstone and Chamberlain.

This aspect of Anglo-Irish relations is naturally more visible to neutral observers, and was clearly seen by Dibelius in his solid work on England, first published in 1922. It is still worthy of extensive examination. Dibelius pointed out, for instance, that it was Ireland which forced " the strongly Protestant state to come to terms with Catholicism." Mr. Strauss is precluded by his Marxism from discussing this highly important and quite far-reaching development, and there are many others of a similar kind and of equal interest. The ultimate destruction of the House of Lords as a primary political power, for instance, is to be traced to its obstinate support of the Irish landlord interest and opposition to Home Rule. Mr. Strauss emphasises the striking fact that the Parliament Act of 1911 was the work in large measure of the Irish Party in decline. We need not in the least agree with his thesis of the inevitability of democracy

in his sense of the term in order to realise that without the profound disturbances caused by the Union, Great Britain might have developed very much as did Prussia up to the Great War. On the other hand, nothing is more impressive in Mr. Strauss's book, which excels all through on the strictly economic side, than his demonstration (p. 197 ff.) that with the liquidation of landlordism and the first manifestations of the Welfare State, Ireland soon became more of a liability than an asset to Great Britain; and this fact alone made self-government in some form inevitable. The Great War, it is true, complicated this development in two ways. In the first place, by bringing Tories and Liberals together, it made Ireland in effect weaker in its capacity to influence events than it had been since the days of Pitt and Fox. This immense, if temporary, change was fully grasped and emphasised by MacNeill at the time of the Volunteer break-away from Redmond in 1914. In the second place, under the war economy, Ireland soon began to make a considerable contribution to imperial finances. Both these new factors helped greatly in their turn to produce the explosion of 1916—1921.

It is very instructive to compare the views of the two writers on the policy and achievement of Parnell. While Mr. O'Hegarty calls him " the Lion " and rightly emphasises the importance of his policy of self-reliance, Mr. Strauss treats him, as he treats O'Connell, as the organ of the " middle class ", always conscious of the necessity to defend himself against " the Left," which is of course merely the extreme wing of violent nationalism given a " social " colouring. To Mr. O'Hegarty, the Kilmainham Treaty was " a victory unprecedented " (p. 513) and the Phœnix Park murders " almost fatal to the national movement " (p. 515). Mr. Strauss on the contrary thinks the Treaty was " a crass blunder on Parnell's part, due to his hatred of the revolutionists in Ireland and to the pressure of Mrs. O'Shea in England." The Kilmainham Treaty might indeed, says Mr. Strauss, " have been fatal to his political career if he had not been saved from its consequences by the Phœnix Park murders." As opposed to Mr. O'Hegarty's view, which most historians certainly share, Mr. Strauss thinks Parnell profoundly mistaken in his policy of reliance " only upon the devotion of the sea-divided Gael and the people of Ireland." This policy sprang from " his strategic blindness which contrasted so strongly with his tactical genius " (p. 190), and of which Mr. Strauss sees another example in his decision to support the Tories at the General Election of 1885. It is difficult to deny that in his last judgment Mr. Strauss has right on his side, and Mr. O'Hegarty finds it hard to summon up arguments in favour of Parnell's strange action, which undoubtedly helped to destroy the chances of the first Home Rule Bill.

But Mr. Strauss condemns Parnell for the wrong reasons. True to his blue-print for all history, he sees the whole Home Rule struggle as a phase in the class war, in which the real heroes are " the masses," not of

Ireland but of the United Kingdom as a whole. Parnell's blindness, according to Mr. Strauss, lay in the fact that not alone did he distrust the Irish revolutionaries but also refused to put himself at the head of a general revolutionary movement. What was really needed, Mr. Strauss holds, was not self-reliance in Ireland but " the close alliance with the British workers which Davitt advocated in and out of season " (p. 189). In other words, Parnell should have made himself a British Labour leader. What Mr. Strauss seems to ignore in making this retrospective demand is the effect such an alliance with British revolutionary working-class interests (assuming that they existed at all) would have infallibly had on the situation in the 1880's, as Parnell saw it so penetratingly. It would of course very soon have precipitated a close alliance not only of Tories with Liberals, but of both with the majority of the working-class, to put down such a crazy movement. Indeed nothing is surer than that Parnell would have failed from the start to get the necessary initial support in Ireland for any policy of the kind, even if it had occurred to him to seek it. At best, the situation which came about, as Mr. Strauss so acutely diagnoses, early in the Great War would have been anticipated by a quarter of a century. It is not a little odd that Marxist students of history, who devote such industry and often such striking ability to the scientific analysis of events, should so frequently fall into this kind of misjudgment. But no doubt it is once again an inevitable product of the dialectic way of looking at things

The insurrection of 1916 is of course viewed by Mr. Strauss as merely a manifestation of the class-war once more. His over-estimation of the part played in its inception by Larkin and Connolly is something to which assiduous propaganda has long since accustomed us, but it is none the less grotesque to anyone who knows the facts of the time at first hand. His summing-up of the Home Rule controversy on an earlier page (p. 240) is an example of the sound results to which his method can sometimes lead :

" Sir Edward Carson was thus more justified than he knew, and cared to know, when he asserted that Ulster's success would kill Home Rule . . . But the ardent upholders of vested interests and ancient privileges were totally ignorant of the crucial fact that they were killing Home Rule only in order to clear the way for revolution. . . Thus they not only sapped the power of the moderate Irish parliamentarians in favour of the revolutionists, but they did all they could to make any settlement which included partition unacceptable to the nationalists and a bar to complete friendship between Ireland and Great Britain." We can learn something from both nationalist and Marxist, provided we allow neither to dominate our critical faculties.

MICHAEL TIERNEY

THIS GROWING SENSE OF EUROPE

BY JOHN MURRAY, S.J.

ON more than one occasion have I been privileged to write in the pages of STUDIES upon the present crisis of Europe and of the efforts that are being made in Europe towards closer co-operation between the different countries. If I declare that there is a very real *crisis* in Europe at the present time, everybody will know what I am talking about. I am using the words *crisis* and *critical* in their sharpest sense, of *turning point* or *moment of decision*. The future of Europe, and maybe the future of the world entire, will depend upon what happens in Europe during the next few years.

Until the twentieth century—here is the crux of the situation—Europe was at the centre of human history. For two thousand five hundred years the central stage of human history and experience was Europe. It is Europe that has been the great home of art and architecture and science ; Europe that was the focus of Christianity; Europe that was the crucible for the immense experiment which we know as Western civilization. The other continents, in so far as they have been settled from Europe and moulded through European civilization—the two Americas, North and South, Australia and, to a lesser extent, Africa—are a projection, if not of Europe, at least of the European spirit. The two Americas, in particular, are Europe beyond the seas ; they are a Greater Europe.

But now the centre of gravity has shifted. It has moved away from the older Europe in two directions : to the United States, with their massive resources and their vigorous spirit of progress, and also—so far as can be judged—to Russia. Previously, Europe was the centre of the world. Now, it lies between two new world poles, and it is subject to the influence and interests of both. This means that we have had to start thinking about Europe in an entirely different manner. Until recently, European countries made and controlled history. Now the problem is : can these European countries themselves be saved ? Can Europe survive ?

In the years immediately following the war there was great distress in Europe and considerable defeatism. Looking back, one sees that in one or two Western European countries a Communist revolution came dangerously near. Many Europeans seemed to have resigned themselves to the notion of a Europe as a No Man's Land, divided into spheres of influence for the United States and Russia. But that mood has largely passed. The peoples of Western Europe understand that they have to work for security as they must work for better economic conditions and more assured prosperity.

Consequently, during the past two or three years they have drawn more closely together. *Marshall Aid* from the United States stimulated the growth of *mutual aid* among themselves. There have been many tangible signs of this : among them, the Benelux association of Belgium with the Netherlands and Luxembourg ; commercial agreements, for instance between France and Italy ; and, most encouraging of all in the light of recent history, a genuine *rapprochement* between Western Germany and France.

The European Defence Community

In the course of 1952 six countries of Western Europe have formed themselves into a European Defence Community. France, Western Germany, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg have agreed to contribute to a common military force. My point here is not that a defence force is being constituted, to which these several countries will contribute national units. It is that, eventually if not at once, these national units will be merged into a new force altogether. They will not be just six layers, placed one on top of the others ; they will be integrated into a *new thing*, and this *new thing* will be neither German nor French nor Italian but simply *European*. The original plans have been modified during the course of conferences, and the *tempo* has been slowed down. But a European Defence Force will shortly be in existence. The European Defence Committee, which ultimately is to direct and control it, will not be established for some time.

The notion of a European army was first mooted in August, 1950, at the meeting in Strasbourg of the Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe. The proposal came from a French delegate, M. André Philip, and Mr. Churchill, who attended this meeting, called also for a unified European army.

The position was this. The strength of Russia and her occupation of Eastern Europe called for practical measures by the Western European peoples. It was clear that Western Europe could not be defended without the co-operation of Western Germany. On the other hand there was the fear of any revival of German militarism. Was it possible to secure German co-operation and at the same time to avoid the dangers of German rearmament through the formation of a European army ?

It was natural, therefore, that the suggestion of this novel army should have come from the side of the French. On October 24th, 1950, what has come to be known as the *Pleven Plan* was outlined before the French Assembly by M. René Pleven, then Prime Minister of France, and on the following day the plan was approved. It proposed the creation of a European Assembly, with a European Minister of Defence, who should be responsible to it, and a Council of ministers representing the various countries. These countries were to provide a common budget and the

Minister of Defence was to be responsible for equipment and armament. In order to reduce the *national* character of the various contingents and to emphasize their *international* and *European* quality, it was urged that they should be as small as was in practice possible. These contingents ought to be incorporated into the European force at brigade or even battalion level.

This initial " plan " met at first with a cool response. The British Government replied that it could not entertain the suggestion of a European Minister of Defence and a European army. The West German Chancellor also rejected the proposals, but for the reason that the German Federal Republic could not accept a permanent status of inferiority and must have equality with the other countries concerned.

Here again was evident the difference between the French and the Western German points of view. Both governments were now convinced that the defence of Western Europe could not be provided without their close collaboration. Yet the French were afraid of the resurgence of a German national army and hoped to secure German military assistance through a European force that would not be directly under the control of the West German government. Large numbers of the Germans themselves shared this mistrust of a German national army and were accordingly not unfavourable to the proposed European defence force, but they resented their own situation as a land still in part occupied and they insisted on equality with the other Western Powers. Here was a deadlock that had to be resolved.

In December, 1950, the French accepted certain compromise proposals, put forward by M. Spofford, chairman of the Atlantic Council of deputies. These were designed to permit the recruitment of German soldiers but within a defined pattern of international control. Until a European army could be organized, they suggested the recruitment of German combat groups of not more than six thousand men, but with the proportion of one German combat group to five similar groups from other countries. The proposed German contribution was carefully diluted to one in six. At the same time, the Foreign Ministers of the United States, Britain and France authorized their High Commissioners in Germany to discuss with the Bonn government in what way the Federal Republic could best be brought into the plans for Western defence and in what way and to what extent the Occupation Statute should be altered.

During the first half of 1951 discussions continued, both in France and Germany. Conversations took place between Allied representatives and Germans, which lasted until June. It was made clear that the German military authorities, while sympathetic to the formation of a European force, would not accept integration at brigade or battallion level. They were envisaging a German army of some twelve divisions, with its own tanks and artillery, and a tactical air force.

Discussion went on, reports were issued, compromises were examined and adopted. By the beginning of 1952, in time for the meeting of the N.A.T.O. Powers (North Atlantic Treaty Organization) in February at Lisbon, the details of agreement had been finally elaborated. On this M. Schuman reported at the Lisbon assembly. The European Defence Force was to consist of forty-three groups, each with approximately thirteen thousand men, and of these Germany would provide twelve groups. The groups would be further contained within a corps organization, with eighty thousand men to the corps. An air force would be similarly constituted, and the largest national unit would comprise seventy-five aircraft. Additional paragraphs dealt with the questions of control by a commission of nine individuals, appointed for a term of six years; theirs would be the responsibility of directing the defence army and of providing for its training, equipment and supplies. There was also envisaged a political council of six members.

By now, much serious work had been done, but one or two problems remained outstanding. One of them, the status of Germany. Germany—so the West Germans argued—could not be regarded as having equal rights with the other five members of the Defence Force, unless *either* these countries gave up their separate representation in N.A.T.O. *or* Germany were admitted to N.A.T.O. membership. The problem was solved or shelved by guarantees given by Britain and the United States. The former guaranteed "to render military assistance in the event of attack on the lines of the provisions of Article 4 of the Brussels Treaty." On this, Mr. Eden commented positively: "The effect of the proposal is that (Britain's) commitment to provide assistance, including military assistance, in the event of attack upon France, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg, is now extended to all the members of the European Defence Community and to the European defence forces." Germany would not be made a member of the organization N.A.T.O., but effectively her defence was guaranteed through her membership of the European Defence Community, that was to stand always in close liaison with N.A.T.O.

This is roughly the present condition of the Defence Community of Western Europe. A defence force is being organized, though the more far-reaching proposals for co-ordinating this work of mutual defence under councils and ministers of defence, have been for the moment deferred. The die is cast. France and Western Germany have pledged themselves to work closely together. This alone is a remarkable step, fraught with happy auguries. As I write these paragraphs, I reflect upon the speech of the German Chancellor, Dr. Adenauer, delivered only yesterday in the *Bundestag* at Bonn, a speech in which he justifies German participation in the counsels and projects of the West. The defence plan, he argued, is not to be regarded merely in the light of a possible attack

from Russia; it will render war impossible between European peoples for fifty years. The plan, he asserted, would have consequences of the first order, for the automatic assimilation of the foreign and economic policies of the member States would lead to a European federation or confederation.

And what, he continued, was Germany's alternative? Either she must accept this treaty and ally herself with the West *or*, rejecting it, associate herself with the East or, at least, plunge herself into a vague and yet dangerous neutrality. He described the progress that had taken place in Western Germany, from the grim days of the Morgenthau plan to the opportunities now provided for Germany to live and work in equality with other Western countries. How different was the condition of Eastern Germany! There, the Oder-Neisse line was accepted officially as the frontier; Russia had taken 31,000,000,000 marks as reparation; freedom was denied, and a satellite State had been created. The Chancellor recalled the drastic framework of the Potsdam agreement, to which the Russians, in their recent notes, wanted to return. "One thing," said Dr. Adenauer, "must be said with all clarity; there can be no reunion of Germany on the basis of Potsdam."

WHAT WILL BE INVOLVED

So much for the genesis of the European Defence Community. Now it must involve a certain abandonment of national sovereignty. When the scheme is fully implemented, each of the six governments will be represented on the European Defence Committee, but the fact remains that these governments will not be able to direct their military units as they please. In other words, what is implied is something more than *common defence*; it is *common foreign policy*. In European issues these countries will have to act together.

Together with this Pleven Plan goes another plan, itself also associated with the name of a French minister, M. Schuman, and already approved by the Parliaments of Western Germany and France. By it all the coal and steel resources of the six countries will be administered by an international authority for the benefit, not of the individual country to which the coal or steel happens to belong, but for the common advantage of all six. This, too, is an immense advance in co-operation between countries, but it also means that the six countries will be giving up a real measure of national sovereignty.

Steps have thus been taken towards the *eventual* creation of something new and of great significance, to whit, a *European Union*. They have not yet gone very far, but the point is—they *have* started. It is realized that the era of the sharply defined and wholly independent State is passing away. Peoples have now to learn not only to exist side by side in harmony; they must learn to live together within a society that will be wider than

any national State. For Catholics, for those Catholics, that is, who know something of the history of the Church and of its formative influence in Europe, the idea is not novel. In the first place, for the Catholic, foreigners can never be merely " foreigners," for the Church is the home of every people and every national tradition. And secondly, the Catholic can remember that what we know to-day as Europe is largely the creation of the Catholic Church. He can recall those centuries when Europe was Christendom, when European men and women were conscious of this wider loyalty that transcended, but never weakened, their rightful loyalty to their own folk. For the Catholic the proposal of a United Europe is, so to say, only putting the clock back, in terms of four or five centuries ago ; though for the merely modern mind and in terms of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, it may seem to be putting the clock forward.

That a Catholic should welcome closer collaboration between European countries and should look with understanding and sympathy upon a properly balanced attempt to recreate unity in Europe is reasonably to be expected. And therefore it is not surprising that the protagonists in this movement of *rapprochement* are well-known Catholic men. Among them is M. Robert Schuman, who has succeeded in remaining Foreign Minister through many a collapse and reconstruction of the French Government. M. Schuman is French. Yet, he was born in Lorraine, when it was German territory from 1870 to 1918, and he served during the First World War in the German army. He stands accordingly as a bridge between the two countries whose rivalries have done so much damage in our own times. He can love the one without being an enemy of the other. He can understand and, understanding, can appreciate the country on the other side. And—most important thought of all—he is aware of a greater entity than either or both of them, and which includes them both.

Dr. Adenauer, the German Chancellor, is a forthright German patriot. That is not in question. Yet, he too, a staunch Catholic, stands midway between Germany and France, as a son of the Rhineland, that was civilized by ancient Rome and early converted to Christianity. His city, Cologne, is Roman as well as German.

Signor De Gasperi, the major architect of Italy's recovery since the war, is also an admirable Catholic and European. He, too, is a man from a border region, with experience of two countries. He was born in what prior to 1918 was Austrian territory and for a time he was a member of the Austrian Parliament in Vienna. He also stands halfway between Italy and the Germanies, and is particularly fitted to understand Europe and to manifest a European spirit.

It is, on the other hand, scarcely surprising that the European Socialists who have done so much, both consciously and unconsciously, to undermine the traditional values of Europe and European culture,

should have shown themselves at best lukewarm with regard to these efforts for European collaboration. The Socialist would no doubt answer that he is always ready to work for a united Socialist Europe, and that was the position of many members of the British Labour Party. They would welcome European union, provided it was Socialist union. It was just awkward for them that not one of the six countries in question had a Socialist government.

In Western Germany, in particular, the Socialists have taken up an attitude harmful to co-operation with other countries in the West. Dr. Schumacher, leader of the Socialist opposition, was himself most uncooperative. In November, 1951, he even threatened that, should treaties for the establishment of the European Defence Community be introduced before the *Bundestag*, he would file a petition with the Constitutional Court, on the grounds that such a measure violated the basic law of the Republican constitution of Western Germany. The deputy chairman of the Socialist Party, Herr Ollenhauer, declared in April, 1952, that German Socialists wanted to test the sincerity of the Soviet proposals for general free elections throughout Germany. Agreements with Western countries would, he urged, make German reunion more difficult and might prevent it altogether. He considered the notion of an integrated Europe to be fundamentally false.

In the Bundestag debate of July 9th, Carlo Schmid, speaking for the Socialist Party, offered very thin arguments. Apart from complaints that the treaties in question did not restore full German sovereignty because the Allied Powers reserved certain essential rights for themselves, all he could suggest was that it was foolish to take a definite step with regard to Russia. The treaties ought, he considered, to be rejected because they would prejudice all future negotiations with Russia on the matter of German reunion. The weakness in his argument was apparent as he continued to develop it. If negotiations with Russia should show—he insisted—that Russia would favour the reunion of all Germans only on the condition that Germany became a Russian province, then of course a new situation would have arisen, and it would be necessary for Germany to negotiate treaties with the Western Powers. It is difficult to imagine a more unrealist or a feebler case.

No one would pretend that there are no difficulties. Of course, there are. What should be noticed, however, is the new spirit in which such difficulties are being met. In the bad old days, you needed only to have some problem to make relations worse at once. Now, quite to the contrary, when such problems emerge, the governments concerned start thinking how best they can get over them and be rid of them. There is a far better and more friendly spirit abroad. How far these efforts will go—it is impossible now to prophesy. It is hoped and planned, of course, that they will one day be crowned with federation and even European

Union. Maybe, it would be foolish to expect too much too speedily. Patience will be called for and wisdom and rare restraint. But the efforts are being made with rare sincerity and with considerable realism. They proceed not from amateurs and idealists but from responsible men of State. Should they indeed be crowned with permanent success, they will exercise a most powerful and a most salutary influence upon the history of the coming years.

Hitherto I have stressed the note of *Europe* and *European* in these experiments in collaboration. It is a note that constantly recurs and calls for serious reflection upon itself.

Recently, two new books—doubtless amongst many others—have been published upon this theme of Europe.[1]

Señor de Madariaga is an accomplished scholar and connoisseur, with wide experience of Europe and its peoples. He writes cleverly, and at times brilliantly; has acute and delightful passages, in which he seizes upon the characteristics and the *faibles* of this or the other people; he is always entertaining, even when you become annoyed with him because of a certain slickness that accompanies his versatility and a flippancy that is out of place when one writes of the Europe of the present critical hours. Nor does he penetrate, as does so very definitely Mr. Christopher Dawson, into the symptoms and causes of our present crisis. He can say much in little, as when he speaks of Europe as "*Christian* in its *will* but *Socratic* in its *mind*," or when he treats of the individual as a specifically European discovery:

> It is in Europe that the peculiar unique character of the individual is first appreciated; and that again may well explain why Christianity was predestined from the first to become the specific religion of the Europeans. For, with Christianity, the sacred character of every man is recognized, no matter his class, wealth, craft or colour; and this recognition, proclaimed on spiritual grounds, calls forth a harmonious response from the individualistic depths of the European soul. The will, one of the two aspects of the master faculty of the European, feels itself free to act in a world in which all individuals are declared sacred; and from this liberation of the will springs the exceptional activity of the European and the leading share Europe takes in human history.[2]

But in quite arbitrary fashion he erects the culture of Europe on a flimsy basis with four "typical" literary "legs"—the types, he would say, of eternal tension: Hamlet and Don Quixote, Faustus and Don Juan. "Hamlet and Don Quixote" he suggests "are, so to speak, *horizontal* characters, types of manhood whose tensions and relations move sideways

[1] (i) *Portrait of Europe*. By Salvador de Madariaga. London: Hollis and Carter. pp. viii, 204. Price 18s.; (ii) *Understanding Europe*. By Christopher Dawson. London: Sheed and Ward. pp. ix. 261. Price 16s.

[2] *Portrait of Europe*. p. 23.

towards other men, Faust and Don Juan are *vertical* characters, whose chief tensions are in the realm of absolute values—life, death, destiny, God."[1]

The happiest and best chapters in this book are labelled " Tensions," and the relations of different peoples with one another are sketched with a lightness and yet surety of touch that at its best can delight and stimulate. Señor de Madariaga has concise and chiselled passages : for instance :

> " Spain is a great hunger ; France, a great fear. Spain is for adventure ; France for security. Spain is for squandering ; France for saving ; Spain is extravagant like Nature ; France is sparing like art."[2] or :
>
> " A war is for the French a most unpleasant event, not because of its dangers, for the French are brave ; but because it upsets the order of reasonable life."[3]

Occasionally, he conveys a wealth of meaning and interpretation in a single paragraph : for example :

> " In this spiritual journey (from East to West) Europe passes from her undifferentiated origin to her most finished differentiation ; from the vast mass which is and always was sunk in a kind of natural communism, to the land of the clearly defined individual whose motto is—*mon verre n'est pas grand, mais je bois dans mon verre.* Germany occupies in the spirit the same intermediate situation between Russia and France which she occupies in space. Gregarious for France, she is individualist and differentiated for Russia. Just as the French feel in the German spirit an underworld of subconsciousness which evades the light of the intellect, the Germans feel in the Russians an even deeper and primordial subconsciousness. The spiritual journey from the West to the East of Europe is therefore also a descent from the clear surface of the intellect to the depths of the human being, where forms melt into each other and individuals sink into the mass."[4]

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[1] *op. cit.* p. 47. [2] *op. cit.* p. 73. [3] *op. cit.* p. 87.

[4] *op. cit.* p. 91. Madariaga's section on European Resonances is neither as happy nor as interesting as his " Tensions." It is a little too arbitrary and too facile. The three most intelligent peoples on Europe, he considers to be the French, the Germans and the Italians, and there he is most probably right. The three *maddest*, in his judgment, are the Spanish, the English and the Russians ; the three with the largest element of the *absurd* in their history and experience, the Irish, the Spanish and the Poles. Yet, let it not be thought that he is wanting in appreciation for the Irish. On the contrary. He pays them a high compliment in insisting that they are really Spaniards, who lost their way and " got stranded in the North, where they do not belong " (p. 145). " That is why," he adds, " they are the only Northern Catholics and the most unhappy of all the Northerners. All Northerners are unhappy—that goes without saying ; but the other ones are unhappy, so to speak, in their own right and as a matter of nature ; while the Irish are unhappy as a matter of accident and as the outcome of a tragedy—that fatal mistake that took them Northwards from their native Spain " (p. 146). To complete the picture, I add one final paragraph from Madariaga's book concerning Irish and other influence upon the English : " Anyone who has watched the movements, almost as mechanical as those of an automaton, of a soldier of the Guards, say a sentinel at St. James's Palace when he decides to walk a few steps, will hesitate before denying that the English are a Germanic people. Fortunately, however, for the British Isles, there are three other nations in it which are not Germanic. The Scotch, the Welsh and above all the Irish have happily compensated the Germanic features of the English character. They have taught Englishmen to disobey ". (p. 105).

But Señor de Madariaga's book, though entertaining, is far too light-hearted to provide a commentary upon the problems of Europe to-day. Such a commentary is found, however, in the collected essays of Mr. Christopher Dawson that appear together under the title of *Understanding Europe*. In a series of chapters he considers various strains and relationships in Europe—the problem of Germany in Europe, of Eastern Europe and Russia, of Europe Overseas, to mention but three examples; and he analyses and weighs the different factors in the European crisis. Much of the material of this book he has dealt with previously in masterly volumes like *Religion and the Rise of Western Culture* and *The Judgment of the Nations*. But here the problem is re-examined with a depth of awareness and a sharpness of judgment that are wholly admirable. There are few, if any, authors to-day who have written on the European situation with such width and wisdom.

In a preface Mr. Dawson lays down his general purpose. It is to study three interrelated themes:

(i) That Europe is a society of peoples;

(ii) That Europe is a spiritual unity, based on the tradition of Christian culture;

(iii) That the modern revolt against Europe is the inevitable result of its loss of the common spiritual aims and the common system of moral values which it derived from the Christian tradition.

"Europe is a society of peoples"—there you have Mr. Dawson's basic affirmation. Europe, in other words, is not a geographical expression. Geographically, it is a part—by far the smaller half—of the landmass of Euro-Asia and, though its boundaries to North and West and South are defined by the sea, it has no natural frontier in the East. In the East, Europe comes to an end, where the European peoples end, along that fluctuating border where throughout history men of European loyalties and the European spirit have defended Europe.

In other words, Europe is not a place on the map but a community of peoples. They form a community because they have basic ideas in common, because they have shared in a common historical experience, because they stand within the harmony of a common civilization. A European people is one that has been moulded by European experience and that has made its contribution to the European inheritance.

It is possible to select and emphasize certain definite elements within this European tradition. From the side of ancient Greece, the notion of the significance of the individual man. For the Greek, man was a rational being, with the faculty of intelligence, by which he could transcend experience and rise to a general understanding of himself and the world round about him. And this understanding he was able to communicate to and share with other men. In the world of Nature he discovered order and pattern and therefore he felt at home in the world with other persons

and with the world itself. Or from the side of Imperial Rome there came the note of law and order. If Greek thought stressed man's individuality and freedom, the Romans insisted on discipline, order and law. At once, you had a balance of ideas—and a typically European balance. A man was essentially free *but* only with due regard for authority. Or, conversely, a man is subject to authority *but* with proper respect for his human personality and rights. Here you have a European balance, which at the same time has provided Europe's major social and political problem, how to achieve an equilibrium between *liberty* and *authority*. At times, the pendulum has swung too far in either direction. Liberty has been overstressed, as in the *laisser faire* individualism of the nineteenth century, and this to the detriment both of social responsibility and of authority. At other times, authority has been over-emphasized, as with the twentieth century Totalitarian States, to the great disadvantage of freedom.

The Culture of Europe

For Mr. Dawson European culture was fashioned out of divers elements and through varied experiences under the guidance and influence of the Catholic Church. It arose from the impact of Christianity on classical culture and Western barbarism, and it created from these dissimilar elements a new spiritual world which formed and forms the background of our history. It was as Christendom that Europe first became conscious of itself as a community of peoples with common moral values and common spiritual aims. Now the religious divisions of the sixteenth century, in Mr. Dawson's opinion, did not destroy the unity of European culture, though they did introduce disruptive factors. A certain unity of culture and education survived in both Catholic and Protestant lands. A common intellectual background and a common scale of values were preserved in the traditional education of the classics, and until the nineteenth century there existed a European republic of letters, to which every scholar—and indeed every educated man—belonged. Though European culture developed under Catholic auspices and was, in a real sense, a child of the Catholic Church, none the less, Mr. Dawson would argue, the acceptance of the Christian faith is not an essential condition for a study or appreciation of Christian culture. Nineteenth century Liberals were able to appreciate it; indeed they regarded themselves both as its heirs and its successors.

Among the factors that have done grave harm to this culture is, in the first place, the development of Nationalism, in its nineteenth century guise. This has broken the links that always existed between European countries, and destroyed that sense of kinship which belonged to European men. Indeed, it is this sense of kinship which is reasserting itself on the Continent to-day in the efforts, of which I have already spoken, to procure closer European co-operation.

In addition, culture has been increasingly divorced from the Christian religion, with which formerly it was intimately connected. And nothing has taken its place. In Mr. Dawson's view this is a vital point. We cannot restore to Europe a consciousness of a common purpose unless we can make men return to the spiritual inheritance of Europe. This demands education. But education has lost its twin bases, as they existed in the older tradition: the classical studies as a foundation for higher education *and* a grounding in Christian beliefs and moral ideas that was the basis of more general and popular education. Education has been robbed of this double foundation, and to-day only the State exists as a unifying factor.

A further problem arises from a new kind of "international" phenomenon in education, particularly in scientific and technical formation. Mr. Dawson exposes the problem very concretely:

> "A Russian expert in applied research on plant biology, a French specialist in the history of the romance lyric, an English worker on atomic research, an American expert in social psychology—all these do not belong to any sort of spiritual community like the humanist republic of letters. They are just individualists with special jobs, and there is a much stronger bond between *all* the Russians and *all* the Frenchmen and so on, than between scientists as such or technicians as such. No doubt the discipline of scientific research does produce a common type of intelligence and even a common type of character, but so did the older professional disciplines, so that there is a considerable similarity between staff officers or drill sergeants in the armies of the different great powers. But a similarity of this kind on the level of technique does not necessarily make for a similarity of the level of culture. And the same holds good for the scientific specialist. Indeed under present conditions the two types are rapidly becoming assimilated, so that the scientific expert and the military expert are alike instruments of the unified power organization of the modern State."[1]

Not only does the modern nationalist State insist upon State direction of education. The products of that education, scientifically and technically qualified, become trained instruments by which the State can intensify its direction of and control of the national life. How thoroughly this can be reduced to practice has been seen in Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia.

A further element in the crisis in Western culture is found in what Professor Gilbert Murray has termed a "loss of nerve." Europeans have lost both grip and nerve. This was the tragedy of many intellectuals in nineteenth century Russia and twentieth century Germany, where the ultimate outcome of an education in the Western tradition was defeatism and nihilism and revolt. It must not be forgotten that the theory behind the Soviet State and Soviet society is not an Eastern theory but something

[1] *Understanding Europe.* p. 6.

which came to Russia with the European revolutionaries. It was the expression of a revolt from inside against Western culture and denied its spiritual and Christian elements. The Totalitarian State, insists Mr. Dawson, is a " monstrous hybrid " from the unnatural union of the Western revolutionary tradition with the Eastern tradition of the military police State, as it has developed in Prussia, Russia and Turkey.

> " The Marxian dialetic may be the source of its ideology and its propaganda, but the real source of its political power is to be found in the techniques of absolute bureaucratic government and military mass control that were developed by the three great Empires of Eastern Europe during the last two or three centuries."[1]

The peoples of Europe must become more deeply aware of their spiritual and cultural inheritance—that is the only solution and the final conclusion of Mr. Dawson's analysis. They require more education, not in extent but in profundity. For education includes two processes: that of *technique*, by which children and men are trained to act in skilled and qualified ways; that also of true *tradition*, which initiates them into the social and spiritual heritage of a community, in the present case, the heritage of a European people and the common inheritance of all European peoples, which is Western culture itself.

Such a process of education will react against the narrower nationalism, and here indeed considerable advances have been made since 1945. It will react against the cult of the State and that passive acceptance of the State controlling every means of persuasion and incentive and interpretation. It will lay emphasis on personal responsibility, the sense of which is so easily lost or removed under high pressure State control.[2]

The last word belongs to the spiritual power that transcends both the realm of nature and that of culture and gives human life its final meaning and purpose. Europe will be saved, if saved it is to be, not in the order of economics and production, not through the advance of science and technique but through a widening and deepening understanding of those ideas and values which have made Europe what Europe was and is and, once incorporated in Continental Europe, have given Western culture and civilization to the world.

JOHN MURRAY, S.J.

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[1] *op. cit.*, p. 100. Mr. Dawson adds significantly: " History has never repeated itself more dramatically than when Hitler and Stalin followed in the footsteps of Frederick the Great and Catherine the Great, and concluded the agreement for the partition of Poland which led to the World War, and thus ultimately to the partition of Germany itself and to the division of Europe." (p. 101).

[2] Mr. Dawson considers the movement towards the mass and Totalitarian State to be a spiritual revolution in reverse and a return to the mentality of the ancient pagan world. " It is a revolt against the moral process of Western culture and the *dethronement of the individual conscience* from its dominant position at the heart of the cultural process. Consequently, it means that the sense of guilt loses its personal character and is reabsorbed in the mass consciousness, reappearing not indeed in the form of the blood feud, but in the parallel phenomena of racial hatred and class war, whereby the sense of guilt is *extraverted* and transferred to a guilty race or a guilty class which thus becomes a psychological scapegoat " (p. 19).

XAVIER IN JAPAN

BY MATHIAS BODKIN, S.J.

IT is generally recognized that when St. Francis Xavier landed at Kagoshima on the South Island of Japan on the feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin in the year 1549, East and West made one of the most significant and far-reaching contacts in all man's history. In this, the four hundreth year after St. Francis' death, which followed three years later, it may be worth while to examine that significance. Apart from the minor importance of any detail that reveals the character of so great a man, why was the coming of St. Francis Xavier to Japan an event? Why do his visits to thriving Cochin or Malacca not have the same claim on our attention? At the beginning of the sixteenth century Europe met four great civilisations, which, if not her equal in body and spirit, had still much to give her, and could have learned much from her. No such meetings had perhaps taken place since the Egyptian met the Babylonian, or the Greek the Barbarian. Opportunity was never so great, though the equipment, material and spiritual, to profit by it was still strictly limited. In two of the contacts, but these the less important, war and passion flared up so fiercely that the Aztec and Inca Empires perished without serious assimilation. One empire, numerically, artistically, and perhaps in other ways, the greatest of the four, held back from every avoidable degree of fusion or intercourse. In that attitude China substantially persisted. She is to-day, if possible, more radically anti-Western than at any time in her history. With the justification for such an outlook we are not concerned. But it adds immensely to the importance of St. Francis Xavier's approach to Japan. For a long life-time there was in that country no radical reluctance to hear his message. For a short while it seemed as if it would be heeded. European conflicts, national and religious, were primarily responsible for the Japanese adopting later the same seclusion policy as their great neighbour. That phase, too, passed; to-day in the relationship of the Island Empire with Europe and her daughter states there seems again to be great prospects for a more united, and perhaps a more Christian, world.

I

The Japanese themselves have not under-estimated the man who came to them on the great feast-day. Even a guide-book history of pre-war date will find a space for his name. There is actually some popular understanding of Francis's unique place in the history of Japan. The writer was visiting Kyoto as a tourist within a few months of the cessation of hostilities in 1945. In the Imperial palace a visitor's book was brought to be signed. On the open page was the single name, Fraser, and his

" address " the flagship of the C. in C. of the Pacific fleet. The second of the party, a naval boy-rating, hesitated over his address. " Write London " was suggested, and he wrote simply the name of the indomitable city. There was no comment. But when the Jesuit inserted his G.H.Q.: " St. Francis Xavier's, Gardiner Street ", there was a murmur from his guide. The Japanese scanned the book. " Xavier ", they said, " we know about him. He, too, came to Japan."

Xavier was shuttling back and forth between continental India and the East Indies when he first met a Japanese. He must have been in contact with Chinese from the early days of his labours in Ceylon and Southern India. In the second half of the fourteenth century Chinese imperialism had been expansive and aggressive. State expeditions and great fleets had gone as far afield as Burma and Ceylon. The policy was later reversed ; and an isolation period had begun before the Portuguese carracks rounded the Cape. There was no resumption of foreign enterprise under the Ming dynasty. This, it seems, was partly the result of Japanese piracy on a great scale along the sea-board of China proper. But the expansion had left pockets of Chinese traders, craftsmen, smugglers and mercenaries scattered through S.E. Asia ; and we know that St. Francis had dealings with them. It is perhaps a measure of Xavier's genius that his introduction to Yahiro—later known as Paul of the Holy Faith—by a Portuguese Captain at Malacca, aroused in him quite new ideas and interests. Yahiro was in no official sense an ambassador. On the contrary, he was a fugitive from Japan having stowed-away on the Portuguese ship to escape the consequences of a homicide of which he may or may not have been guilty. The circumstances of his coming were typical of him, for he proved intelligent, daring, and active, though in some matters rather unreliable. It is disappointing that this man, who plays so large a rôle in the holy invasion of Japan was ultimately to disappear from history, having penetrated the Chinese Empire on some commercial adventure. But in St. Francis' eyes, especially in those first days, he had a heaven-given destiny. He called the Saint as irresistibly as the Gaelic youth from the wood of Fochlut called to Patrick in his dream. And Yahiro was no mystical messenger. He was in the first place what St. Francis would have called a gentleman. He had in fact family connections which were to prove very useful in the early days. Among them some of the first Japanese Christians were numbered. He was an obvious language-teacher and interpreter, for he had learnt a measure of pidgin Portuguese. But, above all, he was able to give St. Francis an idea of a Japan ripe to become a province in the Kingdom of God. Subtract from that picture all that Xavier's optimism and Paul's desire to please exaggerated, and it remains substantially true. It fired the imagination, it touched the heart of Xavier, and that being done he leaped to action. Such was the very essence of his greatness.

II

The Japan to which Xavier came was essentially the same country as it is to-day, very different indeed in its material condition but not fundamentally different in character. All unknown to Xavier it was on the very eve of momentous political developments. It was at a stage in its national history comparable perhaps to that of France, Spain or England a century earlier or, better still, to that of nineteenth century Germany prior to the foundation of the Empire. Indeed the work of the generation of Japanese already living at the time of Xavier's visit was to have more drastic and lasting effects upon Japan and upon the fate of Christianity in the country than either monarchial domination or unification had on France or Germany. This Xavier could not have known ; and had he known it, might have acted no other than he did.

The Saint was not the first European to reach Japan. The usual anonymous merchant-man was there perhaps half-a-dozen years before him. He was not even the first educated man to make the voyage. That honour at least seems to have belonged to Mendes Pinto, his warm admirer, sometime Jesuit and super-imaginative teller of traveller's tales. But St. Francis was of course a man of quite different standing to any of his predecessors. He might arrive in the company of a fugitive homicide on board a semi-piratical carrack, but he was not only a priest but a Papal Nuncio *incognito*. In addition to that, he was a man venerated or feared wherever Europeans had gone all over the East. Still a comparatively young man and making up by energy of spirit for any inroads his incredible physical demands had made upon his poor body, he had nevertheless already the kind of record that gives authority. So what he did infallibly set future standards.

It is important to note that he came entirely on his own initiative with very little encouragement from anyone. The Catholics in Japan obviously never enjoyed the support which a Cortez or even a Champlain in the background could give. The Saint had the very minimum of backing, for even the trading facilities which the later Jesuits exploited in the interests of their work were as yet not fully appreciated. He had however the advantage of coming as a pioneer, and so having a perfectly free hand. He himself was the first to rejoice that the Gospel would suffer in Japan from none of the scandals attaching to the conquistador and the bad Catholic.

He had preconceived ideas of the country, based on the information his Japanese convert gave him and on what he read into it. Even the men of the Renaissance, of which he was one, commanded a very narrow historical learning or experience. Every man, perhaps especially the very great man, is the creation of his age. Xavier thought in terms at once practical and romantic. Universities he dreamed of, a state religion he

took for granted, aristocracy, and a military aristocracy at that, came natural to him. He would have had a perfect understanding of such a despot as Nobunaga or Hideyoshi; even if he had not read *The Prince*, he was a contemporary of Caesar Borgia and Henry Tudor. It is historically disappointing that, though he went in search of these men, he came just too early to find them. His fate, which never gave him a truly great man to deal with, saving always the Founder of his Order, thus denied the world a dramatic clash of personalities. It is not likely that he would have converted or even attempted the conversion of such men; for they had little of Akbar or K'anghsi except a dictator's taste for the company of safe foreigners, Jesuit or Hollander, as opportunity offered.

The Japan he found was apparently engaged in an endemic and chaotic civil war. Poor in resources, it was well-nigh ruined by devastation. Of the strong government which Yorimoto had set up centuries before, nothing apparently remained save the martial traditions of the warrior. The stamping-ground of the Samurai at Kamekura had long been abandoned by the dragon-seed that had sprouted from that field of Ares. A condition not altogether dissimilar to that of the closing stages of the Hundred Years' War or Rose Wars was not by any means out of harmony with Xavier's character and temperament. For—one shudders at the thought—he had in him something of the Frondist, or at least of Cinq Mars. Had it been possible for him to graduate in history at Paris, he might have foreseen, as the natural aftermath of an orgy of feudal war, the advent of an oriental Louis XI or Henry VIII. In fact, owing to his ignorance of the language[1], the novelty of the situation and the absence of any good introduction, his two years in the country were a reconnaissance rather than a campaign. He began with his usual enthusiasm, preaching by word and act a gospel as hard and undiluted as St. Ignatius had announced in the Holy Land. It was a street-corner affair. It produced no results. It could scarcely be expected to do so in a country governed by superlatively haughty rulers, who were the pride and admiration of their subjects. The Japanese were not in the least like the natives of the American forests, the primitives of the Philippines or the rice-Indians. Such types Xavier knew too well. Between the Japanese and the Huron or Iroquois only fierce courage was a common factor.

The Saint changed his tactics very quickly. His friend the Portuguese captain Duarte de Gama " played up," as we might say, and got the other

[1] The absence of the gift of tongues in Japan was still puzzling the Visitor, Father Valignano, thirty years later. The arrangement then, though not always practical, allowed newcomers eighteen months language-study as a preliminary to the apostolate. It is the opinion of competent modern authorities that no European has ever so mastered Chinese or Japanese as to be able to think originally, still less to write profoundly, in these languages. The reverse is not true. But the Japanese at least were not exceptional linguists. Their difficulties with Latin proved a serious impediment to a native priesthood.

Portuguese captains to do the like. When, a few years earlier, the first Recollects had made the journey from Vera Cruz to Mexico barefoot across the leagues of stony mountain-pass, Cortez had done just so much for them. He had ridden out of the city, with his quisling Emperor at his side, to meet Father Maranos, the barefoot " beggarman ", and, on his knees in the dust, kissed the hem of his garment. St. Francis allowed on a small scale a similar homage. Moreover, he himself abandoned temporarily the barefoot part, not, as his whole history proves, from predilection, but in deference to Japanese prejudices. But it is well to remember that a little later, to get to Kyoto in the only way possible, he and his lay-brother companion, in the depth of winter, hired themselves out as palanquin-bearers, and, barefoot as any friar, carried a Daiymo's litter over leagues of frozen February road. Though quite natural, it was perhaps unfortunate that his assumption of status and importance should become a head-line for his later followers. Father Valignano's retinue, all in black velvet and gold chains, complete with slaves and bearers, was no doubt impressive ; but it is at least questionable whether the impression were not dangerous. A sensitive Shogun soon began to watch uneasily any assumption of wealth or power on the part of foreigners whose rulers were potential conquerors. And certainly after the Spanish conquest of the Philippines, if not before it, the Shoguns became super-sensitive in their fear of foreign invasion.

It was clearly too late when the Franciscans, who had preceded the Jesuits in Mexico and Canada, came after them to a Japan that was emphatic in not wanting them. There they immediately wrought disastrous havoc with the carefully assembled " set up " of the original missioners. Nevertheless it is possible that had Xavier himself continued to guide the destinies of the venture, he would not have allowed Our Lord's own boast : " The poor have the gospel preached to them " to be so nearly forgotten. That he would have deplored the almost complete reliance of the mission, in the following years, on the mercantile interests of Japanese and Portuguese alike, is, one thinks, certain. How he could have combated it is another matter. There was apparently no other available financial support for the mission. Japanese Christianity was not, and could not be, self-supporting. Royal, or even European, alms on a large scale, would in that atmosphere of suspicion probably have been misconstrued into subsidies given to a " fifth column." After all, one of the outstanding characteristics which delighted him in the Japanese was their indifference to riches in comparison with honour. And he noted at once how quick they were to appreciate the disinterested (it was only later it appeared the almost unbelievably disinterested) religious motives which had brought him and his companions ten thousand miles to preach to them the Gospel of Christ.

III

But in those first days far-off policies were impracticable matters. Xavier seems to have been driven, as saints are, by the warning of the Apostle: "the time is short." He had defined his own function perfectly: "I go to open doors." Like another Paul he could not rest with one nation or one church—he was an apostle to the gentiles. Doubtless like St. Paul he knew that another would reap where he had sown. Such men are utterly necessary even if the slower, apparently more prudent, men who harvest in their fields recognize only too well the limitations of the pioneers. Xavier therefore pressed on in an effort to get a permanent foothold. He found the Tenno in Kyoto, and, West-European minded, perhaps exaggerated his weakness; for faced with Mayors of the Palace more ambitious and despotic than ever were Pepin or Charles, these Eastern Emperors survived all the Shoguns and commanders-in-chief, and survive to-day as still the most important single factor in Japanese life. For the moment however Xavier felt thwarted. There was as yet no dominant Shogun to be interviewed in a grim alcove of the fortress at Osaka or Kyoto. With the local Daiymos the saint rightly felt that his followers could now deal. Some were actually converted almost at once. This success, unfortunately, was not maintained: for very significantly the first anti-Christian activity of their new master, the Shogun, was to forbid a Daiymo becoming a Catholic. Soon, however, a stream of visitors was pouring in upon the Jesuits and street-preaching largely gave place to more promising personal direction. Some of these visitors were merely curious or restless; but plenty were really seekers after the truth. It pleased St. Francis that they wished to have reasons for it. He welcomed discussion and an intelligent approach. For a time they kept him so busy that he wrote to St. Ignatius that the inquirers left him not only without time to say his Office or prayers but even without leisure to offer Mass. He waited till the conversions began to come fast, a thousand, some say three thousand, before he sailed. There were certainly three hundred or more Christian Japanese a year or two later.

Very fortunate in his tiny following, he might well feel now that he had indeed opened the door. The two Jesuits who had landed with him were to remain after his return. They were both remarkable men. Their talents and achievements have not unnaturally suffered partial eclipse from their too close proximity to the sun of his genius and sanctity; but their names deserve starring among the lights of heaven. They were Father Cosme de Torres and Brother Juan Fernandez. It has been said by a shrewd observer of our own times that the most striking vocations to the Society come, not through the Jesuit colleges, but in more obvious response to a call of the Holy Spirit and to the Brotherhood. It is certainly

fitting that a Brother should have figured so prominently in the initiation of an enterprise where the Brothers and particularly the Japanese Brothers, were to play an heroic part, having their full proportion among the saints and martyrs. The vocation of Brother Fernandez was dramatic enough. A Spanish merchant going down the streets of Lisbon, he heard the sounds of hymn-singing coming from an open window. Led by curiosity, it would appear, rather than by any lofty motive, he found himself at one of those religious gatherings which Father Rodriguez loved to organize. Simon Rodriguez, one of the first companions of St. Ignatius, and the first choice for the mission on which he failed to accompany Xavier, was a remarkable man. At the moment he was conducting a religious Revival movement in Lisbon with only too much success for his own chance of being allowed to go to India. Fernandez was deeply impressed by exercises like those of the little Oratory in Rome. So impressed was he indeed that when the last hymn was sung he refused to go home. In fact he never went home at all; after the eccentric tests then popular and very dear to a man like Rodriguez, he was passed on to Xavier, and with St. Francis he reached Japan. He was—and this was a most important point—a notable linguist. What de Brébeuf was in Huronia, this presumably unschooled merchant was in Japan. He had made, no doubt, good use of the delays of his voyage thither to study the language with the young Japanese Paul, who was the guide of the party. Certainly he was soon able to act on occasion as a fairly competent interpreter for the Saint. Knowing the difficulties of the language, Professor Boxer, in his *Christian Century in Japan*, has cast doubts on the ability of Fernandez to produce a good grammar within eight months of the party's landing —before therefore Xavier's departure from Japan. But produce a grammar and phrase book he certainly did; and possibly his preliminary studies in Malacca and aboard ship made it a better book than the Professor believes. It has been lost; but it was the forerunner of many linguistic studies which issued in due course from the printing-press (with movable Japanese as well as Roman types) which the Jesuits imported from Goa—the first printing-press in Japan.

More important, perhaps, Fernandez seems to have learned to match his Master Francis in spirit. If he feared to translate for the ferocious Samaurai Xavier's unrelenting denunciation of their vices, he apparently responded nobly to the Saint's invitation to " mortify yourself in nothing more than this fear of death "; and by looking unmoved on the terrible drawn swords, showed himself " the equal at least of these proud lords." But he was not proud. It may not have been his humility, more likely it was what appeared to the orientals a rare European example of their much admired virtue of self-control, that proved the immediate cause, of the first Japanese conversions. For while he was re-delivering one of the Saint's discourses at a street corner, a young bravo stepped up to the

Spaniard and spat in his face. A man, said Socrates, may forgive any insult but a blow in the face; but Fernandez had given himself under good leadership to the Man who bore the buffets and spittle of His persecutors. The Brother preached on unmoved. The door was open. The conversions began. Later it may well be that other accomplishments of his were called into play. For it is almost impossible to exaggerate the importance to the mission of the rôle which the Jesuits played from start to finish as trade intermediaries between the Portuguese captains-major and the Daiymos and later the Shogun's agents. Fernandez would certainly have learned from Xavier how to be in God's time God's merchant, and go in and out of counting-house doors as he had once done before his " conversion "—but to a new purpose.

Father Torres, another Spaniard, was a scarcely less striking personality; and he, too, had a big part to play. His selection by Xavier was an excellent choice. For he was superior of a predominantly Portuguese enterprise for no less than the twenty first critical but most successful years. He has thus a big share in the work during those early days of the dawn of the Faith in the land of the Rising Sun. A couple of sentences from a letter written by him to St. Francis give us his own reactions to the first of those passing squalls of persecution to which the Mission was to be subject until its tragic end. They show clearly that he was the prototype of its martyrs. He writes: " Everybody is hunting for us to kill us . . . The situation is, indeed, critical. Daily there are pillagings and murders . . . Should we be prohibited from preaching in public, we shall do so secretly; and come what may, I believe we shall go on making Christians." He had been in Mexico and the Philippines before he met Xavier and knew he had come to journey's end. But in Japan his restless spirit was harnessed and he laboured with smooth energy. In old age he was perhaps somewhat superceded by Father Alvarez; but in a long view he and Father Valignano must, after Xavier, take the principal credit for the promising beginnings.

It might well seem, therefore, to Xavier that what was wanted at the moment was, not so much a good man in Japan, as an army of Christian missioners to pass through the open door to the people seated in darkness. The initial glow had perhaps faded a little in his heart; but he could confidently leave his companions to follow up the first success, while he undertook the absolutely necessary liaison with Europe.

IV

It is not impertinent to ask what Xavier left behind as the ship bore him back across the Pacific and to his bitterest disappointment. What had he done? He had opened a door. His mission to Japan is, up to a certain point, the story of an astonishing success. Fifty years later, it was calculated, there were at least 300,000 Catholics in the country.

It is agreed, moreover, that the quality and influence of this Christian community were of an exceptionally high order. Thus, though the population of the Japanese Empire may, at that time, have been as much as twenty millions, in it, alone of all the great civilizations which Europe encountered, there was for a time a real possibility of its complete conversion within a comparatively short period. And when, as the result of no real inherent weakness but primarily through European national and religious jealousies playing on a still pagan despotism's fears, persecution came, the courage and loyalty of the Japanese Church became an inspiration even to Europe itself. Its record is unsurpassed, perhaps unequalled. From St. Omer the Jesuits commended to the heroic English minority the example of the Japanese who bear " the palm of Christian fortitude." The flourishing Church was wiped out, drowned in the blood of at least five thousand martyrs. Probably many times that number perished. Its priesthood was exterminated. Attempts to renew it were again and again met with torture and death. The Japanese Church fought out the battle and was cut down. Miraculously, something, even more than a tradition or a grace, some remnant survived.

Could anything that Xavier did or left undone have vitally altered this terrible history? It is more than doubtful. The weak spot, if there was one, was the limited range of their apostolate imposed on the missioners by the lack of man-power. At the turn of the sixteenth century the Jesuit force, even more than the Portuguese resources, was perhaps deployed on too wide a front and so stretched too thin. There were never, counting Brothers and students, Jesuits enough in Japan to form a full battalion of any modern army. As a result, each of the Fathers assumed an unfair degree of importance, lost personal touch to some extent, and there was a certain artificiality about the progress made. It was thus only too easy to paralyse or destroy the Christian leadership. Almost from the beginning an enlightened policy set about training a native clergy; Japanese were ordained priests before any Chinese were so privileged and when Indian ordinations were severely frowned upon. But to the end the native, though not the least heroic, could only be a small portion of the clergy of so young a mission. The wretched trading interests and the ecclesiastical policy of the Portuguese Padroado kept the Church perhaps too national. But it may be doubted if the Jesuits, engaged at this critical moment in bloody struggles in England and Canada, and deeply committed in South America and in the Counter-Reformation Slavic contests, could have found more men. Stalin is said to have asked M. Laval contemptuously: " The Pope, how many divisions has he? " No General of the Order at that time had much more than one division to call on to aid the millions of souls committed to the Society in universities and courts, in schools and camps. In 1614, when the decisive edict of expulsion or death was issued by the Shogun, Ieyasu, there were

only one hundred and forty-three missioners in the whole country. Of these, twenty-three were members of the Dominican and Franciscans Orders recently arrived, whose converts as yet numbered not more than a few thousand. Moreover, as any reader of Plattner's *Jesuits Go East* can readily see, the wear and tear of a campaign waged at the end of so long a supply-line was terrible. Something, perhaps, might have been done to call in sooner other Orders and other nations. But the venture started and continued in a world whose ecclesiastical traditions were still largely pre-Tridentine. It was a world of national churches very conservative of their own exclusive privileges and very sensitive of leadership, much less dictation, from an unreformed Papacy, suffering in consequence the inefficiencies of excessive decentralisation. In Japan, moreover, the cause of Christ was soon at grips with an Empire, where discipline and obedience were only too perfect, and so it must be doubtful if a divided command would have served. In the long run, the only charge that can be pressed as possibly vital was the dissipation of forces. Such tactics are a terrible temptation to a generous character. Portugal succumbed to it at least for centuries; and the day had not come when a strong centralised Papacy could control effort effectively, or indeed be expected to see the need for the concentration of effort. Nor was it yet possible, as, thank God, it is to-day, to unite in harmonious work for God in Japan, personnel of every nationality, religious priests and nuns drawn not only from almost all the wide-flung provinces of the Society of Jesus, but also from nearly every missionary body in the Church. For this possible dissipation of forces St. Francis, as we have seen and as we shall see again, cannot be held entirely guiltless. But it should not be forgotten that he lit the torch. However low it burned, to-day it shines bright in the darkness.

The present hopeful prospects of the Church in Japan were not beyond the keen intellectual vision of Xavier. He formed a swift, clear, unaltered opinion of the Japanese whom he describes as " the best people we have met." To him they were souls naturally Christian. For all the pagan vices which he denounced, he saw in these Romans of the East, as anyone may to-day, great natural virtues. He saw loyalty and honour, truthfulness, honesty, self-sacrifice, noble ideals, and united to these, that strange driving-force which we call character. These outstanding qualities made them long unconquerable and then in defeat, noble, unbroken, free from discouragement, ever intelligent, energetic, open-minded. To have seen all this, to have acclaimed it and bequeathed it as a major part of his message to future generations, is no small part of St. Francis Xavier's greatness, and of his service to the Church in Japan. He did not shake off the dust of Japan as he did that of India. He left the country with a scheme, the very extravagance of which is proof of his judgment that Japan was a " first priority."

His purpose was to initiate a mission for the conversion of China as a preliminary to the conquest of Japan for Christ. It became a passionate conviction with him that the older Empire must be evangelised ; and he gave the brief remainder of his life to that cause. China had had European contacts before Japan, but she had already locked and barred her gates as Japan was not to do for a hundred years. The difficulties were therefore immense. He himself never overcame them. The death of the second St. Paul on the barren island of Sanchian at the very threshold of the Middle Flowery Kingdom, was supremely dramatic. It has had an immense inspirational value. Enough perhaps to dismiss as idle all speculation about the wisdom of the Saint's decision, enough certainly to cloud judgment upon it.

Yet in itself this was a strange course of action. It led inevitably to a further dispersion of the small available forces. Moreover, Japan had not in fact refused him ; and the very next generation was to show that it would give his sons a hearing whether they came from Europe or China. None of all the lengthy and still extant reports on Japanese catholicism which Cabro or Frois, Cochlo, or Vilela or even the great Valignano, with his immense practical interest in China, sent home, suggest that the Japanese were waiting on the conversion of their Chinese neighbours. Possibly St. Francis was quite unduly influenced by the remarkable readiness of the Japanese to acknowledge their nation's ancient debts to the Korean monks who in the seventh and eighth centuries brought to Nippon Buddhism, Chinese culture and a new way of life. Even to-day, the proud Japanese acknowledges this with admirable and faithful gratitude. But to-day and perhaps in Xavier's day, had the Saint known it, that was by no means the whole story. Standing on one of the eighteen steps that lead to that vast and impressive black dais which is called the Throne Room in the Imperial Palace at Kyoto, the writer asked his guide who were the majestic figures depicted in the splendid screens that walled it. The divine dynasty perhaps ? Buddhavista ? " No, no," said the guide, " it is a subject often depicted in our public buildings. Once the savants of China held a congress in a sacred place. The pictures therefore represent the Seventy Wise-men of China who met in the Bamboo Grove to discuss Philosophy and the government of men." He paused a moment before he made his solitary comment on this strangely foreign subject, depicted at the heart of an Imperial Japan engaged in chronic warfare with China. " Being Chinese," he said softly, " they discussed wisdom, but did nothing." Perhaps in a country where Nobuanga, Hideyoshi and Ieyasu had already seen the light there was, if Xavier had known it, an equally mixed outlook on the older Empire.

If he had known, would he have stayed in Japan ? At least he might have waited till the recall which Ignatius sent from Europe had reached him. Saved that last terrible year of voyaging and disappointment, he

might have deepened the foundations of the Japanese Church. He might have ensured that his own and St. Ignatius' love of the poor and sick would have mitigated the utilitarianism of his too aristocratically-minded successors. And surely, had he survived to be General of his Order, he must have seen the Japanese venture off to such a start that no tyranny could overtake it. It is only a dream; but while China remains to-day tragically unconverted, at least the Church is beginning all over again in Japan. Please God, the renewed struggle may see at last the Kingdom of Christ established in the land of the martyrs to whom "the palm of Christian fortitude" was so justly awarded. It is good to know that the memory of Xavier, four hundred years after his death, can still inspire men to set out to save "the best people we have met so far."

MATHIAS BODKIN

JAMES CONNOLLY, SOCIALIST AND PATRIOT

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A DUBLIN publishing firm has recently issued a selection of the writings of James Connolly in four volumes[1]. Three are collections of articles, papers and editorials written at various times between 1897 and 1916, the fourth is a re-issue of *Labour in Ireland* (first published in 1916). In each volume acknowledgment is made of the generosity of The Irish Transport and General Workers' Union which made publication possible. The Union's bounty must indeed have been generous to enable these four splendidly-produced books of over two-hundred pages each to be put on the market at the low price of seven-and-sixpence apiece. Each volume has an interesting introduction. Two of these are written by former General Secretaries of the Union, Mr. William O'Brien and Senator William McMullen. The publication is therefore very heavily sponsored by the I.T.G.W.U. No doubt this is intended as an act of piety towards the memory of the great Labour Leader who once directed this Union. But may it not also be that the Union's present chiefs consider that Connolly's message is still valid for Irish Labour? If this surmise be correct, it will not be out of place briefly to recapitulate that message. But first a biographical note :

I

James Connolly was born near Clones in 1870. Ten years later he was working for his living in Edinburgh. Later, in Glasgow, he was a navvy and in 1891 he was back again in Edinburgh working as a dustman. He experienced in his own person the hardships of the individualistic capitalist system, so severely criticised by Pope Leo XIII. But at that time Connolly knew nothing of 'Rerum Novarum' and sought instead in socialism a remedy for the hard lot of his fellow-workers. He became an organiser of the Socialist Labour Party and a contributor to *The*

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[1] *Socialism and Nationalism.* Edited with Introduction by Desmond Ryan.
Labour and Easter Week. Edited by Desmond Ryan. Introduction by William O'Brien.
The Workers' Republic. Edited by Desmond Ryan. Introduction by William McMullen.
Labour in Ireland. Introduction by Robert Lynd.
Four uniform volumes. Price 7s. 6d. each. Dublin : at the Sign of the Three Candles, Fleet Street.

Socialist. It is said that his early life was influenced by an uncle who was both a socialist and a fenian. Socialism and Irish Nationalism became the twin loyalties of Connolly's whole life. Back in Dublin in 1896 he became a contributor to a nationalist paper *An tSean-Bhean Bhocht*, helped to organise the celebrations in honour of the hundredth anniversary of 1798 and published a booklet of excerpts from patriotic writers called '98 *Readings*. He also founded the Irish Socialist Republican Party, edited *The Workers' Republic* and produced some pamphlets on Socialism. Before leaving Dublin for America in 1903 he had stood unsuccessfully as a Labour candidate in the Dublin Municipal Elections. The years 1903 to 1910 were spent in the United States of America, where Connolly was associated with the Industrial Workers of the World, an American Syndicalist organisation, and where he endeavoured to interest Irish exiles in socialism through an organisation called the Irish Socialist Federation and a paper *The Harp*. Connolly returned to Ireland in 1910 and became an organiser of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union which had recently been founded in Dublin by Jim Larkin. As District Organiser in Belfast he did much to hearten the mill-workers of that city in their struggles for improved wages and conditions. In his Introduction to the volume called *The Workers' Republic*, Mr. William McMullen gives us an interesting first-hand account of Connolly's life and activity at this period. The years 1913, 1914, are notable in Irish labour history. In the famous lock-out, which lasted for eight months, Connolly took a vigorous part. By voice and pen and example he urged his fellow-members of the I.T.G.W.U. to constancy in the struggle. He organised the Irish Citizen Army, a small force of armed workers to protect Labour meetings; it was destined to take a prominent part in the subsequent rising of Easter Week. When World War I broke out in 1914, Connolly was bitterly disappointed because continental socialists did not, as had been hoped, oppose the War and unite internationally as a class instead of fighting in the ranks of the opposing national armies. He saw in England's difficulty a new opportunity for Ireland and at once began planning an insurrection. Mr. William O'Brien's Introduction gives vivid reminiscences of Connolly at this period. In the fighting in Dublin during Easter Week 1916, he was wounded in the defence of the General Post Office in O'Connell Street, arrested and lodged in Dublin Castle. His court-martial took place on May 9th and on May 12th he was shot at dawn. In prison and on the morning of his execution he was ministered to by a Capuchin father.

The execution of the 1916 Leaders gained for them the sympathy and veneration of the great majority of the Irish people. But Connolly became, as well, the special hero of the Irish Labour Movement. The anniversary of his death is publicly commemorated each year. On May 11th last, celebrations were held by both the hostile groups into which

Irish Labour is at present divided. And in both cases the celebrations commenced with Mass. Yet, across the Irish Channel, the Connolly Clubs use his name and prestige to lure exile Irish workers into the ranks of atheistic Communism. And both movements find justification in his life and writings. What is the significance of this remarkable man who, though sincere and intelligent, could see no inconsistency in professing himself a follower of Karl Marx and a loyal Catholic, an international socialist and an Irish nationalist?

II

During twenty years James Connolly wrote perhaps some hundreds of editorials and articles in various periodicals. In addition he produced one full-length book *Labour in Irish History* and a few pamphlets. The periodicals, Irish, Scottish and American, for which he wrote, were mostly short-lived. From the oblivion of their pages, Mr. Desmond Ryan has rescued a representative selection of articles and given them a permanent and accessible presentation in the present volumes. Though lacking formal education, Connolly was a man of considerable mental ability and well-read, at least in patriotic and socialistic literature. He loved definition and analysis and wrote a clear, sinewy English style, well suited to newspaper editorials and political propaganda and polemics. His gospel is a combination, unusual in his day, of Irish nationalism and economic socialism. It is not easy to determine which element was dominant. Perhaps it would be true to say that intellectually he was more of a socialist, while emotionally he was above all an Irish patriot. Not that he did not try, in characteristic fashion, to define and formulate the reasons underlying his national sentiment. At a time when, it would appear, patriotism meant for many Irishmen an idealistic and somewhat unreal devotion to a mysterious personality called " Erin " or " Cathleen Ni Houlihan ", Connolly's attitude is refreshingly realistic:

> Ireland without her people is nothing to me, and the man who is bubbling over with love and enthusiasm for ' Ireland ', and can yet pass unmoved through our streets and witness all the wrong and suffering, the shame and degradation wrought upon the people of Ireland, aye, wrought by Irishmen upon Irish men and women, without burning to end it, is, in my opinion, a fraud and a liar in his heart, no matter how he loves that combination of chemical elements which he is pleased to call ' Ireland '. (" The Workers' Republic ", 7/vii/1900).

This patriotic affection for his own people was characteristic of his whole life. His very earliest writings were a series of articles, contributed to an Irish patriotic review *An tSean Bhean Bhocht*, advocating the formation of a nationalist party, whose aim should be an Irish Socialist Republic; in the midst of his busy labours as a socialist organiser in the

United States of America, he can write little songs and poems breathing a spirit of love of country very different from the aloofness from patriotic attachments which orthodox socialism then inculcated ; towards the close of his life his patriotism seems to get the better of his socialism—some hours before his execution he said to his daughter : " What are the socialist papers saying ? The socialists will never understand why I am here ; they forget that I am an Irishman ". His nationalism drew its inspiration from Wolfe Tone and the men of '98. Amongst nineteenth-century patriotic writers, Fintan Lalor appears to have been a favourite ; no doubt because Lalor combined with his nationalism an advocacy of social and economic reform very harmonious with Connolly's own views. He sympathised with the Gaelic revival, though his interests were more social and economic than cultural.

> We are not bigoted on the language question ; we recognise, however, that in this country those who drop Irish in favour of English are generally actuated by the meanest of motives, are lick-spittles desirous of aping the gentry, whereas the rank and file of the Gaelic movement are for the most part thoroughly democratic in sentiment and spirit. If these latter did not so persistently revert for their inspiration to the past, they would lose nothing and gain much in our estimation. But as this is neither a political nor economic question, it is outside our province to make any pronouncement upon it. (" The Workers' Republic ", March 1903).

During Connolly's lifetime the aspiration of Irish nationalists was towards political or, at least, legislative independence. The more thorough-going desired an Irish Republic, completely independent of British rule, the more moderate aimed at winning Home Rule, that is, a local parliament, with a degree of autonomy, but nevertheless subject to Westminster. Connolly was a republican. Amongst nationalists, there was also a divergence of view on the most suitable means of securing political freedom. Many, for long the majority, considered constitutional means alone appropriate ; but the tradition of physical force was still alive and gained ground towards the closing years of Connolly's life. He himself was a firm believer in it, but realised that something could be achieved by peaceful methods of persuasion and political action and was willing to be content with these in so far as they were effective. This breadth of view was characteristic of his socialist tactics too ; he was willing to strive for reform by parliamentary means, but prepared, too, to go to the barricades if need be.

That devoted concern for the people of Ireland, which for James Connolly was the essence of patriotism, embraced especially, indeed exclusively, the humbler classes of people, the working-people. The workers with hand and brain are the real people of Ireland ; the upper and middle classes (landowners and capitalists) have always been traitors to their country's best interests ; they are ever ready to sacrifice their

country's welfare to their own selfish desires of power and wealth. As an army's marching speed is measured by the pace of its slowest soldiers, so a nation's upward trend cannot be faster than the progress in prosperity of its most subject classes. Hence the social and economic betterment of the Irish working-class is the truest and most essential patriotism. Without this, political freedom is very little worth. Connolly's writings, notably some chapters in *The Reconquest of Ireland*, show an intimate acquaintance and sympathy with the hard conditions of the manual workers of Dublin and Belfast. He had borne similar hardships himself as a young man in Scottish and American cities. He rightly attributed these evils to individualistic capitalism but, like socialists generally, he saw but one alternative to capitalism, namely, complete abolition of private ownership in the means of production. Not the reform of private property but its complete elimination was the remedy. Political independence therefore was not the ultimate goal of patriotic endeavour. It was but a stepping-stone on the way to the emancipation of the Irish working-class from the social and economic slavery of capitalism with the setting-up of a socialist republic. This twofold objective, republican independence joined to socialism, is present in his earliest writings and persists throughout his whole life. He hates British rule in Ireland, not merely because it is foreign but also because it is capitalist. He wants a socialist Ireland not only because he believes socialism the only system which can achieve social justice, but also because it is, or has been in the past, the native Irish property system. Connolly seems to have drawn his belief that the native Irish system of land-ownership was communal from the ancient practice of re-distributing periodically the land held by the social group called the *deirbhfhine*. He believed that this was an indication of ownership by the clan, which he considered the ancient political unit, and that the Gaelic system was the former equivalent of modern public ownership of land. Eoin MacNeill has shown, however, that the *deirbhfhine* was really an extended family-group, embracing three or four generations, and that land-ownership was therefore family-ownership and private. Indeed, it has been argued, if a trifle subtly, that the process was the exact reverse of that imagined by Connolly. The English, by imposing feudal ownership, in which property was vested in the King, in place of family ownership, the Gaelic system, had suppressed private ownership and substituted for it the medieval equivalent of modern public ownership by the Government. Connolly's attempt to draw an argument for socialism from ancient Irish usage is an instance of the failing for which he admonishes the Gaelic revivalists in the citation given above.

His attempts to reconcile socialist internationalism with his own nationalism are interesting. With the English working-class he is not disposed to quarrel; rather he sympathises with them, ground beneath the heel of their capitalist ruling class. It is the power of this ruling

class which he wishes to destroy in Ireland, because it is the embodiment of capitalist exploitation of the workers and because each nation's affairs will be more efficiently conducted if each nation is allowed to conduct them unmolested by interference by another nation. Ireland must first win political independence and then the winning of economic and social independence for her dispossessed classes will be feasible. The conquest of Ireland consisted in the subjugation of the country to a foreign ruler and a foreign property system. The reconquest of Ireland, the goal of true nationalism, will consist in the abolition of foreign political rule and in the restoration of a modernised version of the ancient, communal property. Like many other advocates of socialism, Connolly is a bit vague about the structure of the future society which he plans. One thing is certain: in the coming *Workers' Republic* there will be no private ownership of productive goods. Ownership will be vested in the State, though management and administration will not be bureaucratic but the co-operative function of the industrial unions which operate each industry. Connolly shared with Guild Socialism a wholesome dread of over-centralized State control. This caution may have been derived from, or at any rate confirmed by, French Syndicalism through the Syndicalist I.W.W. for which he was an organiser during his period in America. (Several of Connolly's policies and tactics bear unmistakeable traces of Syndicalist influence. For instance, there are his characteristically Syndicalist distrust of merely political measures, and his firm belief in " direct action ", the usefulness of strikes, sympathetic or sporadic, as a means for developing class-consciousness and class-unity). The preparation for the socialist republic should consist first in the organisation into single large unions of all the workers in each industry, irrespective of the particular craft they exercised. These should learn thoroughly the technique of managing their respective industries, so that when the day of revolution came, they could take over direction as well as operation. The future parliament would consist of elected representatives of these industrial unions. Territorial representation, as in capitalist parliaments, corresponded no longer to reality and was outmoded. Economics was everything; politics did not matter much.

III

Was Connolly a marxist? I think he considered himself to be one, in the sense that he accepted many important points of marxist doctrine, worked for, and confidently expected the transformation of capitalist into communist society which is the goal of marxist policy. He was an enthusiastic believer in what he called the socialist or materialist interpretation of history, though it is by no means certain that he understood

by this exactly what the marxists mean. For the latter, the economic factor, in particular, the prevailing mode of production at any epoch, determines all other characteristics of that epoch—its religious thought, its politics, its morals, its ideals, its culture, its art. Thus, in the capitalist epoch, religious belief is nothing more than the drug or opiate which calms and pacifies the wronged proletarians and makes their lot bearable ; monogamous, indissoluble marriage and the family are the institutions for procreation which best serve the purpose of capitalist society, but are destined to yield place to new forms of sexual relationship more suited to the coming communistic society and, therefore, ethically right for that society. I do not think that Connolly held such extreme views, though, he, of course, recognised that economic factors helped to mould ethical codes and political forms. But it seems likely that for him the economic interpretation of history merely meant that economic conditions had a preponderating, though hitherto insufficiently appreciated, influence in shaping the course of history. There is, of course, an element of truth in this view and Connolly's application of it to Irish history produced a remarkable book. But this awareness of the important rôle of economics in history was not the discovery of Marx, though it is probably his writings which gave the economic factor its prominent place in modern history writing. Other marxist elements in Connolly's writings are his insistence on the utility of the class war, on the necessary injustice of capitalist profit, on the character of capitalist governments (merely instruments to further the interests of the capitalist class). It is not surprising therefore that Anglo-Irish marxists claim him as their own. What is most fundamental, however, in marxism is its dialectical materialism and, in this sense, I do not believe that Connolly was a marxist. Amongst his socialist friends he exercised his customary independence of view by always proclaiming himself a Catholic. He makes the same assertion in his writings. And he was too sincere and courageous a man to be guilty of deception or duplicity in such a matter. It is somewhat difficult, indeed, to find unequivocal adherence to definite, Catholic theological doctrines in his written works. But there are indications of his belief in God and the future life, of his reverence for Christ and His teaching. He certainly was not a well-instructed Catholic ; in many of his writings he was signally lacking in the submission which a Catholic owes to the teaching authority of his Church and he often failed to see the theological implications of some of his opinions. He would seem to have been, then, a theologically inconsistent Catholic but no materialist.

Labour in Irish History is an original and suggestive work. It is the first attempt to apply the economic interpretation of history to the story of the Irish struggle for independence. From the events of the last two or three centuries Connolly seeks lessons for the guidance of labour-class activity in his own day. Marx's key to the understanding

of history enables Connolly to prove to his own satisfaction all his favourite theses. Irish political unrest has always had economic roots, viz. the oppression of the workers by the landowners and capitalists. The seven-hundred-years-old Ireland *versus* England struggle is nothing else than the attempt to supplant the native Irish, communal, economic system by a foreign, capitalist, private-ownership regime. The aristocratic and middle-class Irish " patriots " (like Grattan, O'Connell, Smith O'Brien) have always failed or betrayed the cause of independence ; they put their trust solely in political and constitutional action and, when faced with the choice between their capitalist class-interest and their patriotic duty, invariably chose the former. Only the working-class and those leaders who relied upon it, e.g., Tone, Emmet, Mitchel, have been trustworthy and effective revolutionaries. The lesson for Ireland is to place her hopes of freedom solely in the working-class and to aim not merely at political independence but at social revolution as well, a revolution which will transfer productive property from private to communal ownership. History suggests that such communal ownership will right Ireland's social and economic wrongs : the native Irish property system was communal ; capitalism is an English imposition ; such experiments as the Ralahine commune prove how congenial to the Irish character is common ownership ; Ireland's most clear-sighted political thinkers have been socialists at heart.

A complete and objective appraisal of this view of Irish history has yet to be made. Certainly Connolly's unwearied search for the economic explanation has lighted up some dark corners. But to reduce all history to economic history is as much a distortion as to omit consideration of economic influences altogether. It requires a judicious and well-informed historian to discern just how much of the history of any epoch is due to specifically economic causes. An interesting example of this kind of historical discrimination is found in Dr. George O'Brien's *Economic History of Ireland in the Eighteenth Century*. In Chapter XXXIII Dr. O'Brien examines Connolly's account of the period of Grattan's Parliament. Connolly calls into question the popular belief in the prosperity of this period by contrast with the depression which followed 1800 and the Act of Union. He maintains that the prosperity under Grattan's Parliament was not nearly so great as is supposed ; that it was in no way due to the independent Irish Parliament but to other causes which were in no sense political, e.g., the quickening of trade between 1780 and 1800 caused by the introduction of machinery ; and that, in spite of a possible improvement in the trade and commerce of the country, no improvement was felt by the lower classes whose interests were totally neglected by a Parliament representative only of the landlord class. Dr. O'Brien's conclusions are as follows : 1. the period of Grattan's Parliament was marked by all the generally accepted criteria of economic progress, e.g., a rapid growth of population, a rise of rents, a great increase

in the volume of industry. 2. This economic progress was, at least to a very large extent, caused by the existence in Ireland of a Parliament sufficiently free to legislate on the lines of economic policy which it judged most expedient. 3. While the condition of the labouring classes did not progress as rapidly as that of other sections of the community, it was by no means stationery. This is proved by the increased taxable capacity of the peasantry and by the increase in the average consumption of imported commodities. 4. The causes which tended to depress the condition of the labouring classes were not causes which could be immediately removed by the Irish Parliament.

IV

Though he never abandoned his faith in socialism, James Connolly, towards the end of his life, could see little difference in the policies he advocated and those of the more socially-minded Catholics. His understanding of some of the basic doctrines of Catholicism, such as the position and authority of the Catholic Hierarchy and the Church's competence in questions of economic morality was, to say the least, imperfect. But is this such a rare failing in Catholic politicians and social reformers especially when they are dealing with those debatable issues in which the sacred impinges on the secular? Connolly's views on the relation between socialism and religion, in particular the Catholic religion, are most clearly stated in his pamphlet entitled: *Labour, Nationality and Religion*. This was written in 1910 in criticism of Father Robert Kane's Lenten lectures on Socialism. It has been re-issued several times by the I.T.G.W.U. and is now included in one of the volumes under review. There Connolly defends the view that socialism is purely a property system, with no religious implications whatever, and thus utterly outside the competence of the Church and of theologians as such. " It is neither Protestant nor Catholic . . . it is only human ". And by socialism he means the doctrine which advocates as the only economic system which is just and expedient in modern circumstances, the ownership and control of all wealth-producing power by the State. That, in his opinion, is all that is essential to socialism. The socialist, as such, is not committed to any particular theory on marriage, religion, philosophy, history, but solely to public ownership. Connolly protests that he quite fails to see what can be contrary to Catholicism or, indeed, to any religion, in holding this opinion. Taking this stand he has little difficulty in rejecting as irrelevant many of Father Kane's accusations and arguments against socialists. And indeed it cannot be denied that Father Kane had taken a vulnerable position; he had at the outset defined socialism in the

very circumscribed sense indicated, but had gone outside his terms of reference to criticise the whole philosophical outlook of leading marxists. It was a dialectical blunder and Connolly, like an able controversialist, exploits it to the full. He also adroitly uses the purpler passages of the elderly, blind preacher's pulpit style in order to make his adversary appear ridiculous. The reader feels that Connolly has had the better of the argument, though this impression decreases considerably on reading Father Kane's own lectures.

In defining socialism by its salient characteristic merely, and then proceeding to criticise, as well, certain other traits and tenets which, in the course of its modern history, the socialist movement has consistently manifested, Father Kane had been guilty of a logical fallacy, but, in the circumstances, an understandable one. Yet, allowing that Connolly scored a good debating point here, one feels that he is a bit disingenuous in his handling of the whole question of the relation between socialism and the Catholic religion. One would never suspect from a perusal of this pamphlet that its author had but recently broken with his American socialist associates, precisely on the ground that they would not accept the rigidly limited meaning which he sought to attach to the word socialism. And in this they were loyal to the doctrine of the founding fathers of modern socialism to whom Connolly also frequently pays tribute. Five years before Connolly's break with the American Socialist Labour Party, another erstwhile enthusiastic follower had deserted socialism, and precisely for the same reason. The Jewish convert, David Goldstein, tells in his account of his conversion that the publication of an English translation of *The Origin of the Family* (written by Engels and based in part on notes supplied by Marx) was the beginning of his rupture with socialism. He could not persuade his fellow-socialists to separate their social and economic programmes for the uplifting of the proletariat from the materialistic philosophy and ethics in which the theorists of Scientific Socialism had embedded it. Socialism is a word of many meanings. It can stand for the extreme of materialist collectivism and it can mean no more than "an eternal aspiration towards a social order in conformity with our moral sense", as the Belgian, de Man, describes it. Connolly was within his rights in stating his particular meaning of the word, and Father Kane was illogical in defining socialism narrowly and criticising it on wider grounds. But, when all is said, the words of Pius XI remain true: "Whether considered as a doctrine, or as an historical fact, or as a movement, socialism, if it really remains socialism cannot be brought into harmony with the dogmas of the Catholic Church even after it has yielded to truth and justice on the points We have mentioned (viz. class war, and the abolition of private ownership); the reason being that it conceives human society in a way utterly alien to Christian truth."

The Pope here mentions three marks of the socialism which is incompatible with Catholicism: its advocacy of class-warfare, its abolition of private ownership, even in productive goods, and its false conception of the nature and purpose of human society. On the last count the brand of socialism advocated by James Connolly seems free from censure. But the present pamphlet recommends precisely the second measure here condemned by the Pope. And in many other writings Connolly warmly urges class-warfare. It has been said with much reason that this pamphlet contains some of the most anti-clerical writing ever published by an Irishman. The writer is not content merely to reply to Fr. Kane's arguments against socialism, but tries to prove that the Catholic Church has been the constant enemy of Irish national aspirations and, in more recent times, the ally of capitalist and landlord. He lists a considerable array of historical incidents, often erroneously or misleadingly described, in proof of this. He is silent about the many occasions on which popes and other Catholic prelates have intervened on behalf of the liberties of their Irish children. (Connolly's shortcomings as a historian in this respect have been ably set forth by the late Father John McErlean in a series of articles in *The Catholic Times*, October and November, 1912). The pamphlet also contains a savagely-biassed account of certain vicissitudes in the history of the Society of Jesus, including the celebrated Rites Controversy of the seventeenth-century Catholic missions. In addition, there is complete failure to recognise or acknowledge that, in defending the right of private ownership, the Church is far from condoning the undoubted injustices of historical Capitalism or defending its theoretical errors. The writer was clearly stung to the quick by the attack on his cherished socialism and, in his reply, he descends regrettably from the calm, objective tone hitherto usual with him. It is somewhat surprising that the I.T.G.W.U., most of whose members are neither socialists nor anti-clericals, should sponsor the repeated re-edition of this virulently anti-Catholic pamphlet.

During the closing years of his life, most of James Connolly's writings and activities as a Labour Leader were those of an energetic self-sacrificing trade-union organiser rather than an apostle of socialism. His sojourn in America had coincided with the appearance of the first industrial unions, which were destined to win much ground from the older type of craft union. Connolly was wholeheartedly in favour of the industrial union and, indeed, of the One Big Union, a single organisation of all the workers of the nation, with sub-divisions catering for the different branches of industry. Only this could secure the unity and cohesion of all wage-earners which he deemed so necessary for advancing the cause of the workers. A slogan of the I.T.G.W.U., " an injury to one is the concern of all ", sums up his aim. He recommended the sympathetic strike as a vigorous means of enforcing workers' claims on employers. Recognising

that in the Ireland of his day, workers could only win their claims through sacrifice and suffering, he led them in this arduous enterprise by word and example.

It can be said in summary that the message of James Connolly and the aim of his whole activity is briefly stated in the title of the journal which he edited in the closing years of the nineteenth century and revived in 1915 : " The Workers' Republic ". He strove to win for Ireland the status of an independent republic. He counted mainly on the working class to bring about this aim. They would do so by constitutional means if possible, but if necessary (and Connolly thought it would be necessary) by armed revolution. To make this revolution successful the workers, organised in large industrial unions, should gradually gain power and administrative competence in their different industries. Then, when the hour of revolution struck, they could control factories, dockyards, railways, denying to their opponents the use of the industrial arm and using it for their own purposes. Connolly well knew that control of industry and transport is necessary for victory in a modern war. When Ireland had gained political independence, her liberators must not stop there, but proceed to give her people, i.e., her working-people, social and economic independence by abolishing private ownership of all productive resources, including land. In the pre-revolutionary stage, the industrial unions would have learned the technique of managing their respective industries. These would now be transferred to public ownership, though co-operatively run by the unions. The government of the Republic would consist of representatives of these co-operative enterprises, representation according to economic function replacing the former territorial representation. Thus the Irish Workers' Republic would inaugurate a new era of freedom and prosperity.

V

The veneration of the Irish Trade Union Movement for James Connolly is unquestionable ; but it is rather Connolly, the patriot and labour leader, who is honoured, than Connolly the socialist. There is some danger that admiration of the man may lead to unquestioning acceptance of his social and economic principles. And not all Connolly's principles are worthy of acceptance by Irish trade unionists. His sincerity, disinterestedness and resolute striving to win social justice, as he conceived it, for the exploited workers of his day cannot but win our admiration. Sincerity, however, and self-sacrifice alone are not sufficient. Misguided idealism is sometimes more disastrous than no idealism at all. Connolly was right in castigating the social injustices of his day, but he could see no remedy save total abolition of private ownership. In his

view, the practicable alternatives were either individualistic capitalism or socialism. He was either ignorant of, or denied the possibility of, a middle way. He had little knowledge or understanding of the social teaching of the Church; in one place he refers to *Rerum Novarum* as "ill-reasoned". Since Connolly's day experience has shown (as James Burnham has pointed out in *The Managerial Revolution*) that the abolition of capitalism does not necessarily lead to socialism, at any rate, not to "the society of free and equal men owning property in common" which is the aim of socialist idealists. If Irish trade unionists want to model themselves on their chosen hero, they may safely imitate him in his patriotic sincerity and in his efforts to build up a united, efficient trade unionism in Ireland. The tasks of patriotism, however, are not the same in an independent Ireland as they were in the subject nation for which Connolly died. It is by the more prosaic service of living and working for the material and moral well-being of their fellow-countrymen rather than by a hopeless, heroic gesture of armed defiance in face of overwhelming opposition that Irishmen can to-day exercise their love of country. James Connolly's patriotism could be practical and hard-headed as well as heroic. By work, thrift and industry, by that regard for the traditions and culture of Irish nationalism which has always characterised the Irish workers, by a willingness to subordinate sectional interests and advantage to the needs of the national community, these are the means by which Irish workers may show themselves heirs of what was best in the spirit of Connolly. How alien to all that he taught and strove for is the disunity which to-day rends the Irish Labour Movement into rival factions, weakening the Movement itself and impairing its contribution to the common good. Surely if Irish trade unionists are determined to take James Connolly as their hero, they might learn from him the fundamental lesson of mutual tolerance and collaboration.

But while Connolly's policy of a unified trade unionism is worthy of consideration by his admirers to-day, it is otherwise with his insistence on class-consciousness and class-hostility. This is inspired by the determinist materialism of Marx and is the antithesis of Christian charity. It is true that certain interests of employees are in competition with certain interests of employers and that these competing claims are a legitimate basis for organisations of each group in defence of the particular interests of the group. But, over and above this principle of rivalry and division, there are unifying principles tending to subsume the rival parties under an over-all unity. One of these principles of unity is the prosperity of the enterprise or industry in which both employers and employees are engaged and whose continuance and success demands their collaboration rather than their hostility. In addition, there is the unifying principle of the duty of each enterprise and of all groups within it to promote the

common good of the whole nation. This also calls for collaboration and regulation of merely sectional interests. While therefore it is lawful for masters and men to press their respective claims, this should take place in an atmosphere of good will and collaboration whose spirit will be one of social charity rather than of class-hostility. Pope Pius XI teaches that trade-union organisation, though desirable, needs, as its complement, vocational organisation which will harmonize the opposing groups of masters and men and substitute class-collaboration for class-hostility.

Neither is Connolly's policy of economic socialism an appropriate one for Irish trade unionists. Especially towards the end of his life, he insisted much on the fact that the socialism he advocated was purely a re-organisation of the economic system, and was independent of the sub-structure of dialectical materialism upon which Marx had built. To secure social justice it was necessary to transfer all productive property into public ownership. But this plan would amount in practice to a denial of the natural right of private ownership defended by Leo XIII and subsequent popes. While Pius XI and Catholic writers generally consider selective nationalisation of certain enterprises lawful, they disapprove of wholesale nationalisation. The institution of private property is one of the indispensable bulwarks of personal liberty. Every human activity entails some disposal of material resources. Without the power to do this at will, a man's liberty is seriously compromised. If disposal of all capital resources is handed over to the State or other large collectivity, in practice to the small group or even single person who controls the executive authority, then the power of that group or person becomes irresistible. It is safe and wholesome that power be well distributed. That is one of the reasons why Catholic sociology counsels widespread diffusion of productive property rather than concentration of it, such as takes place under individualistic capitalism as well as under socialism. Private ownership of productive goods also makes for more efficient production and more sedulous care of resources. The activity of acquiring and administering private property, disciplined by the exigencies of justice and charity, develops many virtues and valuable human qualities which would lie dormant were property prohibited. It enables a man to discharge his obligations in piety, justice and charity; it stimulates hard work, frugality, foresight and fortitude; it releases vast resources of energy and enterprise, and prompts to a careful husbanding of capital resources. Though the Church believes, like her Divine Founder, that great wealth is a danger, that a man's life does not consist in the abundance of things which he possesses; though many of her saints and theologians have denounced abuse of riches in such strong terms as to seem communistic; yet, especially since the rise of modern socialism, she has never ceased to defend man's individual, natural right to own private property. It is sometimes argued that modern productive

technique favours large units of enterprise, employing vast numbers of workers and giving owners tremendous power over the lives of their fellow-men ; and that, therefore, modern production demands socialisation. This is a fallacy. The large-scale enterprise is far from being universally the most efficient. Medium-sized and small-scale enterprises are often more economic, and these lend themselves more appropriately to private possession. In cases where the large unit is more efficient, Catholic sociologists, too, recommend cooperative ownership by the workers engaged.

Four months before his death, James Connolly wrote a leading article in *The Workers' Republic*, commenting upon a lecture by the Capuchin Father Laurence. He declares that he sees no difference but one of terminology between the socialism which he champions and the aims of the more socially-conscious Catholics. And he goes on to declare that his ideal is the re-organisation of national economic life on the model of the family, " the true type of human society." This ideal has found an echo in a manifesto of the Irish Labour Party published in the year 1938 which lies on my table as I write. It is an attractive ideal and, as portrayed by Connolly in the article under consideration, almost entirely admirable. But even attractive ideals must be examined in the light of cool reason. What are the practical implications of striving to model the economy of the State upon that of the family ? We must conjecture what they were for James Connolly by other statements of his dating from the same period. What is sound in his ideal is the stress it lays on unselfish endeavour for the common good and on the duty of the community to care for, help and protect its weaker members. But the family is not the State ; it is a distinct, natural society. And the economic system which suits the family does not suit the State. To hold all property in common is feasible in the family ; it is not expedient in the State. Marx's principle of distribution : " From each according to his capacity, to each according to his needs " is sometimes realisable in the family ; it is utterly impracticable in the State. The reason is that the members of one family are bound together by intimate ties of love and affection such as do not exist and may not be hoped for between fellow citizens. No doubt citizens as such have a duty to foster social charity between themselves. But, taking men as we know them, it would be utterly utopian to expect this charity to attain the intensity, disinterestness and efficacy which commonly exists between members of the same domestic household. Failing this degree of charity, it is wrongheaded idealism to aim at the Marxian goal of ownership and distribution. It has been well said of Marx that it is not his economics, nor his dialectical materialism, nor his theory of history, but his hebraic passion for social justice which has made *Das Kapital* the bible of the Twentieth-century Revolution. And whatever we may think of the policies recommended by James

Connolly, no one can fail to recognise in his writings an all-consuming ardour to right very real social wrongs. It is this hunger and thirst after justice on the part of many sincere socialists which makes socialism so seductive for upright minds. Pope Pius XI recognised the goodwill and sincerity which often animate socialists, and counselled those who exercise the apostolate amongst them in the following words :

> If they wish in truth to be heralds of the Gospel, let their endeavour be to convince socialists that their demands, in so far as they are just, are defended much more cogently by the principles of Christian faith, and are promoted much more efficaciously by the power of Christian charity. (*Quadragesimo Anno*. n. 116).

MICHAEL CONNOLLY

DENIS CANON O'KEEFFE, M.A.

BY THE RIGHT REVEREND MGR. ARTHUR H. RYAN, D.D., D.PH.

DENIS O'KEEFFE was born in Dublin in June 1882, and received his early schooling in the Christian Brothers' School, Marino. In 1899 he entered Holy Cross College, Clonliffe, and received there his introduction to philosophy. He took his Mastership in Arts in 1904, and the Royal University of Ireland, after a special examination, awarded him a studentship. He was ordained priest in Maynooth in 1908.

These are the few meagre details I have been able to discover about the earlier days of one, who, immediately after his ordination, made history in Queen's University, Belfast, and whose memory is held there to this day in the same benediction and affection which he was afterwards to win in University College, Dublin.

It is difficult to-day to recapture the charged atmosphere of Belfast when he first came to Queen's in 1909, and to appreciate the magnitude and difficulty of the task that faced him there. The previous year, Augustine Birrell, then Chief Secretary of Ireland, had steered through Parliament the Irish Universities Act which established the National University of Ireland and the Queen's University of Belfast, each with a non-denominational charter.

The liberal government of the day was anxious that the Catholics of the north would feel as much at home in Queen's as would the Protestants of the south in the National. Students of the Irish Universities Question may read in Newman, Fr. Fergal McGrath, Maisie Ward, Mgr. Walsh, Roger McHugh, David Kennedy, and elsewhere, of the many controversies that raged about the necessity for providing alternative courses in such subjects as history, geology, zoology, and philosophy, if the non-denominational character of the Universities were really to mean non-discrimination between denominations. The battles about other subjects than philosophy have long ago subsided. But the Commissioners appointed by Parliament to organise the curriculum of the new Queen's recommended the establishment there of a lectureship in Scholastic Philosophy. They felt that the Catholic authorities would be chary of recommending attendance at a university where philosophy could be taught by a professor whose views might run counter to the fundamental tenets of theism or to the philosophical foundations of the traditional Christian apologetic.

The point is still frequently debated, usually in unreal terms. The upholders of academic freedom, and Catholics are not the least staunch, dislike the idea of confessional tests for academic appointment. But it is to ride the non-denominational hobby to absurdity to insist that in a Christian community the validity of intelligence, the existence of God, the

freedom of the will, and the spirituality of the soul, are matters of irrelevance; and it is quite fantastic to suggest that these positions cannot be satisfactorily argued by one who accepts them.

The nomenclature the Commissioners used, "Scholastic Philosophy," gave rise to serious difficulty, and often does so still. But it was used as a convenience; and one can scarcely blame the Commissioners for using it, *faute de mieux*.

When the lectureship was advertised, Rev. Denis O'Keeffe, M.A., was a candidate; and the curators, having examined the qualifications of, and having interviewed, the applicants, had no hesitation in singling out Fr. O'Keeffe as by far the best qualified.

No sooner was his appointment made known than he had to face the full and searching light of a fierce public controversy. Two appeals against his appointment, on the ground that it violated the non-denominational charter, were made to the Irish Universities Committee of the Privy Council. One was from the Rev. John McDermott, of Belmont, Belfast; and the other from Rev. John Magill, Crossgar, Co. Down, and the Rt. Hon. the Marquess of Londonderry, K.P. The Committee heard two Counsel on behalf of the petitioners, and amongst expert witnesses called were Professor Seth, Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh, and Rev. T. A. Finlay, S.J. The arguments may be read in the law libraries, and highly amusing they sometimes are, in showing the abysmal ignorance about the meaning of Scholastic Philosophy even in the highest academic quarters. Professor Seth's evidence was completely riddled by Fr. Finlay: indeed at one stage a member of the Committee, Mr. Justice Johnson, interjected the remark: "I am afraid we will all be Catholics before Father Finlay is finished."

Their lordships dismissed the petitions. Fr. O'Keeffe's appointment was upheld.

He gave his first lecture to a class almost exclusively composed of students from the diocesan seminary of the diocese of Down and Connor, St. Malachy's College. Suddenly the door of the lecture-room was burst open, and a boisterous group of under-graduates flocked in for a rag. Their leader made a speech of welcome, marched up to the rostrum and presented Fr. O'Keeffe with a fire-bucket he had picked up on the landing outside the hall. The class was horrified at such undignified treatment of a priest. But Fr. O'Keeffe immediately entered into the spirit of the occasion. Called upon to reply, he said (I quote from David Kennedy, "Towards a University," p. 67):—

"Gentlemen, I am reminded of the story of the captain of a ship who was about to retire. His crew wished to make him a presentation. After due deliberation they selected a silver cup and arranged that the mate should hand it over during the course of an evening's festivity.

When the party came along it was a great success for everyone except the mate. The thought of the speech he was to make spoiled the gallant sailor's fun, and when the time came for him to hand over the cup he found himself on his feet, completely tongue-tied. With a great effort he pulled himself together, thrust the cup at the captain, and wrenched out the words : ' Skipper, here's a mug ! ' "

Amidst the cheers of his own students, and roars of laughter from the others, he was chaired around the quadrangle. From that moment he was chaired in the affection and respect of all his colleagues and students.

Perhaps few are better qualified than the lecturer who unworthily succeeded him to appreciate the swift and extraordinary quality of his triumph. For the young and inexperienced Dublin priest to come to Belfast, and to inaugurate, in the teeth of much hostility and misunderstanding, a completely new department of philosophy, was a task calling for unusual gifts of tact, scholarship, and *savoir-faire*. He had them all in exceptional measures.

Those who know something about the delicacy of university initiation will realise his difficulties. The calibre of the Faculty of Arts which he was called upon to join did not make them any easier. Looking back over nearly forty years' experience of university life, I think it is not merely the *laudator temporis acti* who would claim that the students of that generation in Queen's were unusually fortunate in their teachers. Dill and Henry in Classics, Powicke in History, Gregory Smith in English, Meredith in Economics, Williams in German, Laird in philosophy—there are few Faculties of Arts which could boast a more brilliant team.

O'Keeffe found the academic circle, like academic circles everywhere, courteous, co-operative and friendly. They welcomed him warmly, and were the first to resent and to quell any attempts to embarrass him. But it must be said that some of them—I do not write it in blame ; they could not be expected then to know any better—looked upon Scholastic Philosophy as a pathetic relic of mediævalism, which only hyper-sensitive Irish Catholics could have persuaded a government to introduce into the curriculum of a twentieth-century university. O'Keeffe was not many weeks in Queen's before they changed their minds. To their courtesy, they quickly added admiration for his wide and profound scholarship, embracing as it did ancient, mediæval and modern philosophy, illustrated as it was by a broad culture, and by an acquaintance, obviously deep, of great prose and poetry. Before long, his irrepressible and highly original sense of humour, his infectious chuckle, his verve, vitality, and brilliant sparkle as a conversationalist won him universal regard and affection. When he left Queen's there was not one of his colleagues who did not salute in him that combination of profundity, poise and polish which every University holds as its ideal.

But it was only when one came to know him well that one began to realise at what cost his triumph was achieved. When he met in Queen's

scholars of the distinction of Dill, Powicke, or Henry, or when on his visits to Oxford with his great friend, Belfour (lecturer in Old English), he dined in Commons with the scholars of Balliol or Brasenose or Corpus, he began to realise the deficiencies of his own early training, and made up his mind to do what in him lay to redress them. He did so with the most admirable industry, often, considering the very poor health of his younger days, with heroism.

I am convinced, from long and intimate association with him, that this was the secret of his success. For instance, he had never learned German or Italian as an undergraduate. But he would not be content to give even a pass lecture on a theory of Kant, Hegel, or Fichte until he had read them in the original. Hence he took up a German version of the New Testament, and started, with the aid of a grammar and a dictionary, to learn the language. He was the first to disclaim that he ever acquired a thorough knowledge of it; but he did succeed in learning enough to get a first-hand grasp of German philosophical literature. On his visits to Oxford, when he was introduced as an expert on mediæval philosophy, the conversation would, inevitably in Oxford, turn towards Dante. O'Keeffe knew no Italian; but he determined to learn it if only in order to read Dante in the original. How well he succeeded, though again he would be the first to decry the notion that he was adequately equipped, may be gauged from the fact that in 1924 the *Revue Néo-Scolastique de Philosophie*, the premier philosophical review of the Scholastic world, welcomed from his pen a profound criticism of that great Oxford Dantologist, Dr. Edward Moore.

He brought this high concept of industry and first-hand scholarship into all his lectures. He impressed on his students his own contempt for superficial thinking or for any kind of *Schwärmerei*. He was always insistent that the student who did not read for himself, and read the originals, was wasting his time.

It may seem surprising that I thus stress his emphasis on what is, after all, a commonplace in the pursuit of any study at university level. But if we cast our minds back to the state of scholastic philosophical studies when he was a boy, we begin to see what a beneficent revolution he wrought for his students.

What W. G. Ward wrote to Simpson in 1862, " that the whole philosophical fabric which occupies our colleges is rotten from the floor to the roof," was indeed no longer true. Leo's immortal encyclical " Aeterni Patris " (1879), had pointed the way to reform; and the great Mercier, presiding over the " Institut Supérieur de Philosophie " in Louvain, founded six years after O'Keeffe was born, was to be the providential instrument and centre of the reform movement. But when O'Keeffe began to teach in Queen's, the revolution of Mercier was a thing of yesterday. Only a rare pioneer, like the late never-to-be-forgotten Dr. Peter Coffey, had begun to present it to the English-speaking world; and it was still

true that, in the vast majority of our colleges, glib text-books, in which the author would confidently conclude " Sic demoliuntur delirationes Scotistarum, Cartesianorum, Kantistarum, Hegelianorum," etc., etc., after a few lines of irrelevant truisms which made it obvious that the writer had never read a line of Scotus, Descartes, Kant or Hegel, passed for philosophical science.

I have heard some of O'Keeffe's old pupils in Queen's voice the complaint that, while his lectures were unforgettable, and invaluable in giving a critical insight into Hume, Wundt or Bergson, he did not provide that grinding in scholastic metaphysics or methods of disputation that is so necessary for an approach to theology. The complaint is ill-founded. Those who listened to him carefully will remember that he gave the necessary elucidations, and indicated the necessary reading. Let those who feel that he did not keep the balance even, place themselves in his position. The term Scholastic Philosophy is an *omnibus* term. It is not one subject, but at least nine: Logic, Criteriology, Ontology, Special Metaphysics, Natural Theology, Psychology, empirical and rational, and the History of Philosophy. Nor does even this subdivision give any idea of the disparate nature of the disciplines. To teach Cosmology well, for example, requires a knowledge of the pre-Socratics, of Aristotle, of recent researches in mediæval manuscripts, and of modern physical theories—Thales to Einstein!

It was physically impossible for him to give comprehensive courses on this vast programme—a programme which, incidentally, is divided in Louvain between nearly fifty teachers. But of his skill in expounding Thomism, those who followed his " seminars " on the *Summa Contra Gentiles*, text in hand, need no convincing; nor do those who had afterwards the privilege of hearing him in University College, Dublin, where he had only two subjects to treat.

No; his policy in Queen's was well-timed and deliberate; and, I am convinced, absolutely right in the circumstances. He knew that students could find in their text-books, if they had the industry, all the formulae and processes they would require for Scholastic Theology; but that they would seek in vain there what he had not got when he was a student, but what he was determined his own students should have—a critical scholarly philosophical attitude that would enable them to grapple with any problem in any terminology. Hundreds look back to him in gratitude for his courage, inspiration, and example.

It is tempting to try to recapture the charm and piquancy of his lectures. The prognathous chin, the rich modulations of his voice, the conscious and deliberate accent, the flashes of unexpected humour and original illustrations playing around the most unpromising subjects—all this rendered his classes outstanding, even amongst lectures that rolled with the Olympic cadences of Dill, shone with the polished profundity of

Powicke, or sparkled with brilliant *staccato* incisiveness of Henry. But it was not only the technique that fascinated ; more impressive still was his power of arresting the mind and provoking thought. Instances crowd on my mind, as they will on the recollection of all who heard him. For example, he would expound Hume's theory of causality. He was always, of course, careful to do so in Hume's own language, and so scrupulously fair that he would go on to elaborate, if possible, even a more convincing justification for the theory than Hume himself. Then, like bolts from the blue, would coruscate some such sentences as these : " yet the plausibility of his view is surely superficial. For worked out in concrete terms it would involve such incongruities as this : that every time a man sneezes in Kamschatska someone gets his throat cut in Chicago, and that therefore the sneeze is the cause of the gash ! "

It was a source of great disappointment to him that during his time in Queen's it was not possible for a student to take an honours course in his subject, and, though it would have added enormously to his labours, he would have been at his best with honours students, as his years in University College, Dublin, so beneficently showed. I think the main obstacle was Laird, although Laird, when he went to Aberdeen, mellowed considerably, no doubt as a result of Fr. O'Keeffe's influence, in his attitude towards Scholasticism. (Cf. Zybura's symposium, " Present-Day Thinkers and the New Scholasticism," p. 81 sqq.).

After sixteen years in Queen's, during which he not only won the admiration of all his colleagues, endeared himself to the bishops and clergy of Down and Connor (and many of the older clergy were not at all sympathetic at first to the Queen's experiment), to a wide and varied circle of friends, and to all his students, he succeeded Mgr. Cronin in the Chair of Ethics and Politics in University College, Dublin ; and held the Chair until his sudden death on April 21st last.

In University College he was able to deepen his researches and make his courses more detailed. He rapidly became the outstanding authority on his subject. When on the retirement of Professor Magennis, he became Dean of the Philosophical Faculty, he also became the leader and doyen of philosophic studies in Ireland. His lectures gained in brilliance through his being able to devote all his attention to the complete mastery of his sources ; and soon began to attract students, and often teachers, from other departments. A law-professor was present once and on coming out said to his companion, " But you must have picked this lecture specially. They couldn't possibly be as good as that every day." Further attendance convinced him that they were. O'Keeffe never read a lecture, and consequently never repeated one. He jotted down a few headings, and his life-long habit of reading everything valuable that was published on his subjects, and of adding constantly to his rich store of general culture, kept his lectures always fresh, stimulating and spontaneous.

In addition to the work of his own department he succeeded, by his encouragement and example, in imbuing the best students in the Faculty with his own high ideals; and, under the patronage of the Archbishop of Dublin, sent them to the best professors abroad for post-graduate studies. He was aided at every step by his life-long friend and colleague, Monsignor John Shine. It is largely to their endeavours that we owe it that the Philosophical Faculty of University College to-day is staffed by a group of teachers and scholars in whose hands the highest standards will be maintained.

In 1945 the Archbishop of Dublin honoured him by nominating him Canon of the Metropolitan Chapter. His University paid him signal tributes of esteem. His way with his colleagues and his students won their deepest confidence. His wide experience; his wisdom in counsel; his courtesy and humour; his concern, courageous as it was fair, for the freedom and rights of the staff, for the dignity and efficiency of his University; his deep interest in, and scrupulous honesty with, his students gained for him a unique respect. The Academic Council more than once elected him a member of the Governing Body. Convocation elected him on two occasions a member of the Senate, and on another occasion the Senate co-opted him. The Government of his country, when it decided in 1950 to set up a Council of Education, turned automatically to him as the ideal chairman and counsellor.

He was due to retire this year; and his old pupils hoped that he would at last enjoy the leisure to add to his already excellent, but unfortunately small, output of published work. (I append below a list, unfortunately, I fear, incomplete, of his articles in periodicals). He did not indeed make a fetish, as some university men do, of publishing the results of what is called "research." In the experimental sciences research is indeed the condition of advance in knowledge, and it is invaluable in many branches of textual criticism, historical study, and other subjects, which readily suggest themselves. But published work is not an absolutely essential result of first-class scholarship. Scholarship means the definite acquisition of mastery in a clearly defined and arduous sphere of learning; and published work, while it may be a consequence, is not a necessary proof of achievement. If unremitting devotion to the study of a great discipline like philosophy, and the masterly introduction to it of the students of nearly half-a-century, constitute great scholarship, then O'Keeffe, even if he had written nothing, might justly be hailed as a great scholar.

It is the greatest of pities that he did not live to publish at least his admirable courses on Ethics and Politics. The few examples that we have are models of profundity, clarity, and precision; and his work has made a contribution, wider and more salutary than has yet been realised, to the Ireland of this generation. Indeed, I cannot resist the useless hypothesis:

if the young men whose ideals and sacrifices won for Eire her freedom, and who have governed her since—and he would be insensitive who did not pay tribute to all of them—had enjoyed the privilege of having their immaturity in political theory and practice enlightened by a mind like O'Keeffe's, how many disastrous misunderstandings might have been avoided; how many bitter and futile controversies would have been solved!

But even such published work would have failed to reflect the delightful sparkle of his personality, or to catch that engaging combination of dignity and fun, wisdom and charm, which endeared him to all who knew and loved him.

Our sympathy goes out to his beloved brother and inseparable companion, the parish priest of Howth; to the Archbishop and priests of his diocese, who were so justly proud of him; to the Presidents and staffs of the Universities which he served so brilliantly and devotedly. Those who were privileged to know him, and to work with or under him, will often breathe a prayer for his eternal rest; and will thank God for having given him to us as the exemplar of a sterling priest, a most conscientious scholar, an inimitable teacher, a delightful companion and a friend and adviser beyond compare.

ARTHUR H. RYAN

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS

Irish Ecclesiastical Record :—
"Ethical Problems of the Future." I. Dec. 1910.
II. Jan. 1911.

Irish Theological Quarterly :—
"Henri Bergson's Critical Philosophy." April, 1913.

Maynooth Union :—
"Philosophy and Life." June, 1914.

Revue Néo-Scolastique :—
"Dante's Theory of Creation." Feb. 1924.

Studies :—
"John Duns Scotus." June, 1927.
"Theories of Church and State in the Sixteenth Century." June, 1929.
"The Problem of the Senate." June, 1936.
"Co-operative Organisation of Society." June, 1937.
"The Nazi Movement in Germany." March, 1938.
"Democracy: An Analysis." June, 1939.
"Liberty and Law." June, 1940.
"Equality: an Analysis." June, 1941.
"Catholic Political Theory." Dec. 1941.
"The Law and the Universities." Sept., 1949.

PROFESSOR J. J. NOLAN

BY THE REVEREND P. J. MacLAUGHLIN, D.SC.,

Professor of Experimental Physics, St. Patrick's College, Maynooth

THE late Professor J. J. Nolan was one of those who might be called "straddlers," persons of value in the new Ireland, persons who carry into the new regime good qualities of the old. As a student he lived through the transition from the Royal to the National University. Later he had a part in bringing into the blood-stream of the nation cultural institutions which were in danger of being treated as foreign bodies. As a teacher conscious of no mean heritage he inspired research students and left a mark on professional men and leaders of the young generation. As a man of science he saw an apparently trifling item in his own special field of study expand and knit into the great pattern of cosmic radiation.

My first awareness of "Johnny" Nolan, as he was known to his students, or "J.J." as he was known to scientist friends, or "Seán" as he was known to his intimates (and I knew him under all three names), occurred, curiously enough, in France, and was the source of some embarrassment. I had been working in Madame Curie's laboratory, and when she introduced me to M. Maurain, director of the Paris Institute of Geophysics, with a view to research and explained that I came from Ireland, not far from Dublin, M. Maurain at once exclaimed: "Then I suppose you know M. Nolan and are familiar with his work on atmospheric electricity." I felt like a certain man in Scripture and I covered up my ignorance as best I could. Later, my own research work took me into the field for which Nolan was held in such high esteem in France, and brought me into touch with him and led to personal experience of his help and kindness to students. Subsequently, when I came to Maynooth, one of our annual events was the visit of "J.J." with extern examiners of eminence. As my knowledge of him grew, so did our friendship.

John James Nolan, son of Martin Nolan of Roscommon and Bridget Owens of Fermanagh, was born on 28th December, 1888, at Omagh, Co. Tyrone. His father, a product of the National Schools at their best, was a remarkable man who like many Irish parents of his time set great store on solid education, and the greater the difficulties caused by frequent changes of residence the greater the trouble he took to find the best possible teachers for his family. Nolan accordingly received his early education at a variety of schools including the Christian Brothers' School at Omagh, the National Schools at Stewardstown (1899) and at Dromore (1901), St. Macartan's Seminary, Monaghan, and one of the famous Ulster academies, St. Patrick's Academy, Dungannon, where his subjects included Italian. He entered University College, Dublin, in 1906, being with

Professor Algar, Senator Michael Hayes and the late Professor Thomas Nolan, one of the few ever to hold a Bishops' Scholarship. (These were excellent scholarships given on the results of the Intermediate examination.) The 1906 class was a distinguished one and included besides some of those already mentioned such well known persons as the President of University College, Galway, Right Rev. Mgr. Browne, Sir Cornelius Gregg, Dr. Henry Kennedy, Professor Michael Power, Mr. Joseph Brennan, and many others who have made their mark in cultural and administrative fields. The class included several brilliant ladies, amongst them Nolan's future wife, Miss Hurley.

Nolan became a student of McClelland, who had worked in the Cavendish Laboratory at Cambridge with Rutherford, Wilson and Langevin, and had with them under J. J. Thompson participated in the exciting discoveries which virtually created the subject of atomic physics. In University College McClelland, full of enthusiasm and energy, had set to work on problems suggested by his Cambridge experience, and in him Nolan found an inspiring teacher. Nolan took his degree in Experimental Physics and Chemistry, and in a note to his father he wrote : " Dublin (1909)—I saw McClelland to-day. He says I got over 900 marks in Physics and nearly 1,900 all round. He thinks it is a record and talks about a special speech by the Chancellor." On McClelland's recommendation, Nolan was appointed Assistant in Physics (Autumn, 1909), and when McClelland died he succeeded him as Professor of Experimental Physics (1920).

Nolan occupied the chair of Physics at University College, Dublin, for the rest of his life, a life of quiet dedication and steady activity. He was first and foremost a teacher. He would not have subscribed to the modern heresy, which is beginning to be found out, that the primary purpose of a university is research. His view was not the narrow one which has turned many modern universities into a species of technical college or a babel of professional schools, which in Ireland has made universities forget a proud tradition and become institutions for conferring money-earning labels or training grounds for highly and expensively qualified emigrants, and has made our small country a reservoir for supplying needs of richer neighbours. Nolan's view was broad, and in his person he embodied much of Newman's idea of the university product. His academic life was lived on the principle that the primary function of a university is to teach—and teaching is not just supplying information : it is a stirring and development of mental powers with a view to enabling a man to achieve more perfectly his end as a man. In his view, all teaching, whether at primary, secondary or university levels, must directly or indirectly develop character and should conduce to what is sometimes called integrity. A university is to be judged by the quality of its graduates rather than by the quantity of its academic publications. Inside and outside his college, Nolan was known for integrity. He had read widely,

was conversant with classical and modern literature and languages ; he had reflected on life—which besides joys had dealt him blows he had felt deeply —; he had subjected traditional beliefs to unflinching examination, and had confirmed proud heritage by personal conviction. He was all of a piece, consistent, reliable and predictable. It was this quality, not successful research nor brilliant tricks or entertaining lecture manner, that won for him the affection and respect of his students. (One recalls as an instance of this loyal affection the action of some of his students in organising a rescue party when it was reported that the professor had been snowed up by a blizzard at his atmospheric electricity station in the Wicklow hills.)

To say that Nolan believed the main function of a university is to teach is not to say that he despised or neglected research. It was his opinion that a university must not only hand on the wisdom of the ancients but it must also impart modern knowledge, which is a living growth ; and the university should promote the growth of that knowledge, that is, take part in research. But research should be subordinated to the main theme, or else the part is in danger of endangering the whole (which, alas, it has been the misfortune of our time to witness.) Nolan's own field of research was, as already mentioned, atmospheric electricity, especially that part concerned with small electrical carriers in the air. His contributions to this department of knowledge are better known in France and Germany, in America, Australia and Asia than in Ireland. Many sections in the great treatises of Mathias and Chauveau are entirely devoted to recording and discussing the work of Nolan and his Irish collaborators.[1] A list of his more important contributions to this subject is appended to the present article.

Nolan's most important investigation in science dealt with the equilibrium conditions of ions—the name is given to small carriers of electricity—in the lower reaches of the atmosphere. His first research—in collaboration with McClelland—related to the electric charge on rain, and it seems to have established Nolan's lifelong interest in the subject of atmospheric electricity. There followed a series of studies on the kinds of ions produced in air by spraying it with water and by exposing the air to radioactive radiations in a variety of circumstances. In other investigations he studied the nuclei which serve as centres of condensation for the generation of fog, mist, cloud, rain and precipitations in general, and he introduced new methods for studying such questions. The results of his researches, many of which were carried out in conjunction with his brother, Dr. P. J. Nolan, and his students, form a permanent record of the work done by the Irish school of atmospheric electricity which he developed.

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[1] Cp. *Traité d'Électricité Atmosphérique et Tellurique*, edited by Mathias (Paris, 1924) ; B. Chauveau : *Electricité Atmosphérique* (Paris, 1922) ; and more recent enthusiastic publications of Edouard Salles.

Teaching is often regarded as narrowing, but in Nolan there was breadth of activity as of interests. It was as a teacher that he took pains to induce eminent scientists like E. V. Appleton, G. P. Thomson and K. G. Emeleus to come to Dublin as extern examiners or to deliver lectures. It was for the sake of his students as much as to advance his subject that he frequented scientific congresses abroad with great regularity. It was for the sake of Irish students as much as for the prestige of his country that during a decade of years he prepared and communicated to the young native Government a series of memoranda which helped to lead to the founding of the Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies. He was active in the practical affairs of his College, especially for a dozen years as Registrar of a rapidly expanding and under-endowed institution. He did a great deal of hard work as Secretary, President or Chairman of notable learned bodies, such as the Royal Irish Academy and the School of Cosmic Physics. As a chairman he was remarkable for the amount of business he could get done even when meetings were attended by persons fond of the *copia verborum*. He had a very clear mind. As a Professor of Experimental Physics he was one of those who do not confuse their subject with either Mathematics or Mathematical Physics.

As a man, Nolan never attempted to hide his antipathy to mediocrity, sham, insincerity, pretentiousness and self-seeking whether in academic or public persons. He had strong feelings about certain political events though he scarcely ever gave expression to them except among friends. He was well informed about people and he had a gift for summing them up in a witty word or phrase. His standards were high and he was not a man to temporize or waste words. Unsentimental, he refused to be distracted in the discussion of a question by the hard luck story or the emotional appeal. But everyone found that the man who looked inflexible was full of humanity, and students found him exact yet always fair and kindly. Friendship had a solid meaning for this cultured Irish Catholic citizen. He died in his own lecture theatre teaching his largest class, a circumstance not unbefitting a man so devoted to his profession. *Requiescat in Pace.*

P. J. MACLAUGHLIN

APPENDIX

List of Academic Publications of J. J. Nolan.

P.R.I.A.=Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy.

1. "The Electric Charge on Rain, Part I." (With J. A. McClelland). *P.R.I.A.*, 1912 and *Le Radium*, Paris, 1912.

2. "The Electric Charge on Rain, Part II." (With J. A. McClelland). *P.R.I.A.*, 1912 and *Le Radium*, Paris, 1912.

3. "The Electrification of Water by Splashing and Spraying." *Proceedings of the Royal Society*, 1914.

4. "The Mobilities of Ions produced by Spraying Distilled Water." *P.R.I.A.*, 1916.

5. "The Nature of the Ions produced by the Spraying of Water." *Proceedings of the Royal Society*, 1917.

6. "The Nature of the Ions produced in Air by Radioactive Bodies." *P.R.I.A.*, 1920.

7. "Ionisation in Moist and Dry Air." (With J. T. Harris). *P.R.I.A.*, 1922.

8. "Experiments on the Electrification produced by Breaking up Water with Special Application to Simpson's Theory of the Electricity of Thunderstorms." (With J. Enright). *Proceedings of the Royal Dublin Society*, 1922.

9. "Ionic Mobilities in Air and Hydrogen." *P.R.I.A.*, 1923.

10. "Experiments on Large Ions in Air." (With J. Enright). *P.R.I.A.*, 1923.

11. "The Electrification produced by the Pulverisation of Aqueous Solutions." (With Reverend H. V. Gill, S.J.). *Philosophical Magazine*, 1923.

12. "Relation between the Potential Gradient and the Number of Large Ions in the Atmosphere." *Nature*, 1924.

13. "The Constitution of Gaseous Ions." *Physical Review*, 1924.

14. "The Equilibrium of Ionisation in the Atmosphere." (With R. K. Boylan and G. P. de Sachy). *P.R.I.A.*, 1925.

15. "The Breaking of Water Drops by Electric Fields." *P.R.I.A.*, 1926, and *Gerlands Beiträge zur Geophysik.*

16. "Atmospheric Ionisation." (With G. P. de Saçhy). *P.R.I.A.*, 1927.

17. "The Distribution of Sizes among Raindrops." (With J. Enright). *Nature*, 1927.

18. "The Ionisation of the Lower Atmosphere." *Quar. Jour. Roy. Meteor. Soc.*, 1929.

19. "The Ions produced by Discharges at Liquid Surfaces." (With J. G. O'Keeffe). *P.R.I.A.*, 1929.

20. "Preliminary Account of Observations on Atmospheric Electricity in Country Air." (With P. J. Nolan). *Gerlands Beiträge zur Geophysik*, 1930.

21. "The Effect of Water Vapour on the Diffusion Coefficients and Mobilities of Ions in Air." (With T. E. Nevin). *Proceedings of the Royal Society*, 1930.

22. "The Effect of Water Vapour on the Mobilities of Negative Ions in Air." *P.R.I.A.*, 1930.

23. " Observations on Atmospheric Ionisation at Glencree, County Wicklow." (With P. J. Nolan).
P.R.I.A., 1931.

24. " Electric Discharge from Water Drops." (With J. G. O'Keeffe).
P.R.I.A., 1932.

25. " Multiply Charged Large Ions." (With J. G. O'Keeffe).
P.R.I.A., 1933.

26. " The Effect of Water Vapour on the Diffusion Coefficients of Ions in Nitrogen and Oxygen." (With A. C. Galvin).
Proceedings of the Royal Society, 1933.

27. " Further Observations on Atmospheric Ionisation at Glencree." (With P. J. Nolan).
P.R.I.A., 1933.

28. " The Discharge from Raindrops in Intense Fields." (With J. P. Ryan).
Gerlands Beiträge zur Geophysik, 1934.

29. " Atmospheric Condensation Nuclei." (With V. H. Guerrini).
Nature, 1935.

30. " A New Method for Counting Atmospheric Ions and Determining their Mobilities." (With P. J. Nolan).
P.R.I.A., 1935.

31. " The Diffusion Coefficient and Velocities of Fall in Air of Atmospheric Condensation Nuclei." (With V. H. Guerrini).
P.R.I.A., 1935.

32. " The Determination of the Mass and Size of Atmospheric Condensation Nuclei." (With V. H. Guerrini).
Trans. Faraday Soc., 1936.

33. " Atmospheric Electrical Conductivity and the Current from Air to Earth." (With P. J. Nolan).
P.R.I.A., 1937.

34. " Diffusion and Fall of Atmospheric Condensation Nuclei." (With P. J. Nolan and P. G. Gormley).
P.R.I.A., 1938.

35. " The Equilibrium of Ionisation in the Lower Atmosphere."
P.R.I.A., 1940.

36. " Cloud Chamber Investigations of Small Airborne Particles."
Research, 1948.

37. " Equilibrium of Ionisation in the Lower Atmosphere." (With T. Burke).
Nature, 1949.

38. " Observations on the Radium A. Content of the Atmosphere." (With T. Burke).
P.R.I.A., 1950.

39. " The Control of the Electrical Conductivity of the Lower Atmosphere."
Archiv für Meteorologie, Geophysik und Bioklimatologie, 1950.

FATHER EDWARD FRANCIS PIGOT, S.J.

BY D. J. K. O'CONNELL, S.J., D.SC.,
Director of the Vatican Observatory

PART II.[1]

THE International Seismological Association was to meet at St. Petersburg at the end of August, 1914. The Federal Government appointed Father Pigot Australian delegate to the Association. In June he sailed for Vancouver en route for Europe. Galitzin wrote to welcome him and to say that the way to Russia was open to him and that his stay there would not be limited to three days, as on the previous occasion. While Father Pigot was visiting European observatories on his way to Russia, war broke out, the Congress was postponed and he had to return to Australia. Once more he missed being the first Jesuit for a century to visit Russia.

In 1919 Father Pigot visited the chief observatories in Canada and the U.S.A. In 1922 he was an official Australian delegate to the inaugural meetings in Rome of the International Astronomical Union and the International Union of Geodesy and Geophysics. He visited again the chief European observatories. On this occasion he visited the present writer, then studying in Holland, and told him of his plans for research, expressing the hope that he would later join him at Riverview. On his way back to Australia he spent some months visiting American Observatories. He thus came to know the leading scientists, particularly astronomers and geophysicists, in Europe and America. With many of them he became intimate. Later on I shall refer to various researches that resulted from these visits.

In 1923 the third Pan-Pacific Congress met in Melbourne and Sydney. Father Pigot was Secretary to the Seismological Section of the Congress. The President of the Section was Professor F. Omori, the leading seismologist of Japan. On 1st September Professor Omori visited Riverview. While he was in the seismograph cellar inspecting the instruments, a violent earthquake was being recorded. Omori watched it for a time, not then realising that the vibrations came from the terrible earthquake that was destroying his home city of Tokyo. The remarkable coincidence that, at the very time of the earthquake, Omori was in the only spot in Australia where he could see it being recorded, was widely reported. Some scientists abroad, thinking that the story was hardly credible, wrote to Father Pigot asking if it were true.

His last tour abroad was in 1926, when he attended the Pan-Pacific Congress in Tokyo as one of four official delegates from Australia, the others being Sir Hubert Murray, R. H. Cambage, President of the Australian National Research Council and E. C. Andrews, Secretary of the Australian Association for the Advancement of Science.

[1] For Part I see issue of June 1952, pp. 189—196.

I shall now describe some of the many researches he undertook, apart from the main work of his Observatory. Not all were brought to a successful issue, but all were carried out with characteristic thoroughness; most of them were pioneer researches in Australia.

GEOPHYSICAL WORK: COBAR

For several years he used horizontal pendulums of a special type deep down in mines at Cobar, N.S.W., to record and measure the deformation of the earth by luni-solar tide-generating forces, analogous to ocean tides. A great deal of work and travel and correspondence was entailed, but unforeseen accidents prevented the conclusion of the work. I shall quote from a brief report that he wrote on 1st June, 1927, in reply to a questionnaire sent by the U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey, Washington:

"As far as I know, my installation, some years back, at Cobar, N.S.W., is the only one in this part of the world exclusively devoted to earth tide research. It was the result of a request from the Central Bureau of the International Geodetic Association at Strassburg, in the year 1912, that I should select a site and install a complete earth tide equipment, and carry on research for at least two years. This request was accepted, and after much deliberation and consultation with authorities, such as Sir George Darwin (personal interview), I chose Cobar as the site. One reason for selecting this site was the fact that some underground galleries in a copper mine, far removed from the actual workings, were available. The depth below the surface was 437 feet, thus amply securing freedom from solar thermal effects. The distance from the ocean, over 300 miles, was far more than sufficient, in Sir George Darwin's opinion, to ensure freedom from complications due to oceanic tidal load.

"The complete outfit, from Strassburg, arrived early in 1913, and was soon installed. Local assistants were fully trained in the routine technique, and a large number of preliminary photographic records were obtained, but not up to my standard of excellence.

"A little later disaster after disaster fell upon the research:

(1) The mine was closed down owing to financial failure at headquarters in London. After 18 months it was refloated by Government assistance, and I re-installed the instruments, but

(2) We were flooded out before long, owing to a neighbouring mine being closed down. After a second time bringing the instruments to the surface, I approached the directors of another copper mine seven miles away, and they kindly afforded me facilities for a third start, under far better conditions than in the other mine, and at about the same depth. Everything seemed very promising, and the preliminary trial records were being obtained when the final disaster occurred.

(3) Fire broke out spontaneously in one of the upper levels of the mine far above my instruments, and the authorities sealed the mine. After some months it was re-opened for inspection, but the fire burst out afresh. Since then the mine has been closed, and there is no immediate hope of even getting the instruments to the surface.

"It was a bitter disappointment to me, after all the work I put in underground. I had even contemplated the installation of a complete Michelson Interferometer equipment on an adjoining plain, so as to obtain simultaneous records by this method with the older horizontal deformation pendulums. I

even visited the Ryerson Laboratory, Chicago, and Professor Michelson and his staff gave me every facility for studying their technique. This was in 1919 just prior to the final disaster.

"I am sure you will sympathise with me, in my great disappointment regarding this research which I had so much at heart.

"Obviously the Michelson method was vastly superior to anything preceding; nevertheless, I am inclined to think that a correlation between the Michelson method and that of high period horizontal pendulums (standard type), installed under exceptionally good conditions, would not have been without scientific interest."

Father Pigot collaborated with Professor L. A. Cotton, of Sydney University in a somewhat similar type of research at Burrinjuck, N.S.W. Three horizontal pendulums were installed underground near the site of the huge dam which was being built there, in order to measure the deflection of the earth's crust when the enormous mass of water flowed into the dam, the object being to determine the elasticity of the earth's crust. These researches have been described by Professor Cotton.[1]

Father Pigot and his friend, Dr. J. J. C. Bradfield, designer of the Sydney Harbour Bridge, planned to carry out similar work during the building of the Bridge. A chamber was to be cut in the solid rock near the end of the bridge and horizontal pendulums were to be set up in order to measure the bending caused in the rock by the weight of the bridge. This plan was not carried out.

Foucault Pendulum Experiment

The great French physicist, Léon Foucault, proved theoretically that, owing to the rotation of the earth, a pendulum swinging perfectly freely would slowly change its direction of swing, and showed that the rate of change of swing would depend on the latitude where the experiment took place. In 1851 he performed the experiment successfully in the dome of the Panthéon in Paris. The experiment was repeated in various places in Europe, but had never been done properly in the Southern hemisphere. A very long pendulum is needed if accurate results are to be obtained. As far back as 1891 Father Pigot, at the suggestion of Father Charles O'Connell, S.J., mathematics master at Riverview, thought of setting up such a pendulum in the hall of the main staircase at Riverview. Then, in 1915, Father J. Hagen, S.J., Director of the Vatican Observatory, the leading authority on the subject, wrote to Father Pigot urging him to perform the experiment in Sydney. Father Hagen had proved theoretically that the problem was rather more complicated than Foucault and others had realised, and further experiments were desirable. After Father Pigot's death, Father Hagen published an appreciation of this work[2]. "Here was a chance," writes Father Hagen, "for Father Pigot's great originality. Not content with doing what others had done before him he

[1] *Roy. Soc. N.S.W. Journal:* v. 49, 448, (1915).

[2] *Popular Astronomy*, v. 38, 381, (1930).

determined to fix the vibrations of the pendulum on photographic paper.' In fact, in previous experiments the swing of the pendulum was observed visually. Father Pigot made the pendulum record its own trace on photographic paper. There were various technical problems involved, but Father Pigot solved them all in ingenious ways. He performed the experiment successfully several times, first at Riverview, with a 45 foot pendulum, and then, with one 85 feet long, in the big dome of the Queen Victoria Markets, Sydney, which was put at his disposal by the Lord Mayor and Council in 1916 and 1917. The scientific experiments were carried out at night, to avoid interference. There were also a number of demonstrations before the Lord Mayor and many leading citizens of Sydney. On one occasion the Apostolic Delegate, Archbishop Cerretti, started the pendulum swinging. This was done by burning a wire which held the pendulum bob to one side. The bob was a 60 lb. lead sphere, very carefully made, containing an electric lamp and battery, a device for shutting the current on and off at stated times, and a lens for focussing the light on the bromide paper beneath the bob. Father Hagen, after describing the various characteristics of the curves traced by the pendulum and the conclusions that can be drawn from them, goes on: "All these points, seen at a glance in the photograms, required in the visual experiments years of studying and discussing before they were generally recognised and understood . . . . Very easy are the measures from a photogram. They can be repeated at will . . . . No doubt, making a photogram with an elaborate ball like that of Father Pigot, during quiet night hours, on a long strip of photographic paper, is a very laborious work. But once it is made it will serve forever as a means of instruction. Although Father Pigot's pendulum can, owing to its moderate length, yield only qualitative measures, the merit of having originated and carried out the first photogram will remain a permanent honour to him." The instrument itself, called by Father Pigot a geogyrograph, was shown at an exhibition in Rome and is now, with one of the geogyrograms, in the museum of the Vatican Observatory at Castel Gandolfo.

Father Pigot badly wanted to add to the already very good equipment at Riverview a set of the highly sensitive Galitzin seismographs. He had discussed the matter in many letters exchanged with Prince Galitzin. Galitzin, in his last letter to Father Pigot, informed him that he had set his mechanic to work building the instruments for Riverview. Then came the war. Galitzin died in 1916. Soon afterwards the Revolution broke out in Russia and further communication was impossible. Galitzin had sent to Father Pigot descriptions and drawings of his instruments and the latter decided to have them built in Australia. They were constructed mostly at the Royal Australian Navy Wireless Workshops at Randwick, under Father Pigot's supervision, and are well up to the standard of the original Russian instruments. The finishing touches

were not completed until after Father Pigot's death. These seismographs have since rendered excellent service.

Astronomy

From the first Father Pigot hoped to start regular astronomical work at Riverview, but that had to wait for some years. In the meantime he managed to devote a good deal of attention to astronomical problems. He helped to organise, and took part in, three expeditions to observe total eclipses of the Sun. The first was to Brunei Island, south of Tasmania, in 1910. Next year he was a member of the official British party which went to Vavau Island, the leader of the expedition being Father A. Cortie, S.J., of Stonyhurst Observatory. The party was carried to Vavau in an Australian destroyer, and the naval officers and men assisted in the work of the expedition. In 1922 he went to Goondiwindi, Queensland, to observe his third eclipse. For a couple of years previously he had been actively concerned in making arrangements for the expedition of the Lick Observatory to observe this eclipse at Wallal, W.A. He persuaded the Commonwealth Government to assign a naval vessel to transport the party and a naval detail to assist the astronomers. This was a particularly important expedition, as the results obtained gave a striking confirmation of Einstein's Relativity Theory.

Father Pigot was ever keenly anxious for the development of Astronomy in Australia. Learning that Harvard Observatory authorities were looking for a better location for their Southern branch, then in Peru, he thought that they might be induced to choose a site in Queensland, where there was no astronomical observatory. He interested his friend, Sir Hamilton Goold-Adams, Governor of Queensland, in the project, and through him the Queensland Government. He discussed the matter fully with Professor E. C. Pickering, Director of Harvard Observatory, and was commissioned to carry out prolonged tests of various possible sites. The tests were carefully carried out under Father Pigot's direction and the results sent to Harvard. In the end the Harvard Station went to South Africa. Father Pigot gave much time and trouble to the matter over a period of some years.

Another development that he had very much at heart was the setting up of a Solar Observatory in Australia. The Commonwealth Government at one time appeared to favour the project, but it held fire for many years. Since the Government appeared unlikely to act, Father Pigot decided to try to do something himself at Riverview. The Smithsonian Institution at Washington were carrying out very elaborate observations of Solar Radiation at various sites, and there seemed excellent prospects of very important results being obtained. It was even hoped that discovery of variations in radiation from the Sun might lead to reliable long range weather forecasting, so important for Australia. Father Pigot visited

Dr. C. G. Abbott, the Director of this work, at Washington and discussed the matter with him with his usual thoroughness. Dr. Abbott gave every encouragement and help, being very pleased at the prospect of Father Pigot's collaboration. Father Pigot's friends and fellow-scientists, and many other leading citizens in Australia, formed an influential Solar Radiation Committee, which collected funds for the purchase of the costly instruments. The instruments were obtained from America and were installed in a specially constructed underground building at Riverview; the instruments remaining the property of the Committee. In 1924 a start was made at long last in building a Solar Observatory at Mt. Stromlo, under the direction of Father Pigot's old friend, Dr. G. Duffield. Had Father Pigot foreseen this, he would hardly have started his own station. However, he carried on this work with his usual thoroughness and determination until his death. It became clear, however, that such a low-altitude station as Riverview was quite unsuited for the work. He then tried to find a more suitable site. He made a number of journeys to Mt. Canobolas, near Orange, and carried out observations on the summit of the mountain. It was when returning from one of these expeditions, in the winter of 1929, that he caught a chill that led to his death a few days later. Further work by Dr. Abbott and his associates showed that the range of variation of the so-called "Solar Constant" is much less than was thought at first, and that very exacting conditions are required for successful work. Dr. Abbott told me, when I visited him in 1932, that he considered that there was no site in Australia good enough for the purpose, and that, had he known this in time, he would never have encouraged Father Pigot to undertake the work.

This was the last of many big disappointments that fell to Father Pigot's lot. The main object of his work, the exact measurement of the solar constant, that is, the amount of heat from the Sun that reaches the earth's atmosphere, could not be realised. Yet his labour was not wholly wasted. As a subsidiary part of the research, he had, day after day for years, measured the amount of heat actually reaching the surface of the earth at Riverview, as well as the amount of heat radiated to the earth from the sky. These observations, like all Father Pigot's work, were very carefully made. Various reductions and calculations, requiring much time and labour, had to be made before the results could be published, but, on the general principle that good observations are never wasted, it appeared to me that it would be time and labour well spent. Accordingly the results were finally published a few years ago. They have been of more immediate practical use than I had anticipated. In recent years they have been utilised in various important investigations. They were, for instance, used by the Commonwealth Experimental Building Station to provide building designers with a means of determining the intensity of solar radiation on buildings. The Director of the Station wrote on

February 4th, 1949: "Without these pyrheliometer observations our work would have been almost impossible .... We only wish that Fr. Pigot was still alive, to know the value that his painstaking work has been to us."

Continuing the work he had done at Zi-ka-Wei, Father Pigot for several years photographed the Sun at Riverview, with a special solar telescope, in order to co-operate with other observatories in keeping a continuous record of the Sun's surface. He always hoped to resume also his work on the stars. Great was his delight when his friend, Mr. J. Mann, in 1922, presented to the Observatory a fine 7-inch refracting telescope as a memorial to his son, Lieut. Alfred Mann, an old pupil of Father Pigot's, killed in France in 1916. On the way back from Tokyo in 1926 Father Pigot visited the fine observatory at Lembang, Java, and, in discussions with the Director, Dr. Voûte, adumbrated plans for research on Variable Stars. This developed into a new department of Riverview Observatory, which began to function after Father Pigot's death and has attained considerable success.

Father Pigot was a member of the Australian National Research Council from its inception in 1921. He was also a foundation member of the Australian Committee on Astronomy as well as of that on Geodesy and Geophysics. He served for several years on the Council of the Royal Society of N.S.W., was President of the British Astronomical Association (N.S.W. Branch) 1923–24 and was a charter member of the Board of Visitors of Sydney Observatory.

One may wonder how he managed to finance all these activities. The main burden of the upkeep of the Observatory was borne by the Australian Jesuits, and by Riverview College in particular. Their limited resources were not, however, sufficient. He was helped financially by various members of his family, especially by his aunt, Miss Kate Pigot, who was ever keenly interested in his work. He was indebted also to many friends. The Hon. L. Heydon, M.L.C., provided funds for his first seismograph. Mr. J. Mann gave a telescope, already referred to, and other members of these families, especially Mr. J. E. Furneaux Mann and Mr. J. K. Heydon, as well as other friends, were very helpful. An Adelaide business man, Mr. A. Roberts, contributed to the building for his new telescope. The N.S.W. Government gave grants to the Observatory on various occasions. The British Government, through the Royal Society of London, contributed £250 towards the cost of the Galitzin seismographs.

I have given only a summary account of the chief of Father Pigot's many activities. There were many other calls on his time. Many came to him, or wrote, for help and advice. There were incessant requests from the Press for interviews and information of many kinds. He never refused his help or advice. It is true that he did not suffer fools gladly, but a never failing touch of humour helped him to cope with occasional foolish questions, and he was never lacking in courtesy. "Is it a decent

earthquake?" asked a reporter over the 'phone. "It was an earth disturbance of considerable magnitude," replied Father Pigot, "but I am sorry I know nothing of its morals."

It must be remembered that this multifarious activity was carried on in spite of ailing health, frequent severe headaches, attacks of bronchitis and other acute spells of sickness. His very aspect, tall, thin, almost cadaverous, often with a racking cough, seemed to indicate, for years before his death, that he had one foot in the grave. But this impression was belied by the lively sparkle of the eyes. The noble brow and clear-cut features contributed to his very distinguished appearance. In any company he was a striking figure.

Father Pigot could relax with his colleagues at Riverview and with his other friends and loved a friendly joke. One of his jokes miscarried. On one of his trips to Europe he thought to give his family a pleasant surprise by walking in on them unannounced. When he arrived in Dublin two of his sisters, unaware of his advent, were staying in Florence. As soon as they heard the news, they rushed home to see their dearly loved brother before he left again for Australia.

He found never failing refreshment in his music. He was organist at Riverview and delighted generations of boys by his voluntaries. His real instrument, however, was the piano. For the last few years of his life he had a piano with a really beautiful tone. At times it needed some persuasion to get him to play. No doubt he hesitated to devote valuable time to merely amusing himself, but, when it was plain that he would give pleasure to others, he would give way and lose himself, sometimes for hours, with his favourite Beethoven sonatas, the Moonlight, Waldstein or Appassionata, or with Bach, Mozart, Chopin and the other loved Masters.

He had a great gift for friendship and had a host of friends in many countries. People were attracted by his charm and modest demeanour and learned to value his many gifts and the genuine goodness underlying all. Many became bound to him by lasting ties, evidenced by the many letters they exchanged with him. He had friends in many walks of life, including of course a large proportion of scientists. He knew, and corresponded with, the leading astronomers, geophysicists and other scientists in England and most European countries, in the U.S.A., Canada and elsewhere. One can mention here the names of only some of these friends. In England:—Sir F. Dyson, Astronomer Royal; A. Hinks, Professor John Milne, Sir George Darwin, Dr. G. W. Walker, leading geophysicists; Sir A. Schuster, Sir E. (later Lord) Rutherford, Angot and Rothé (France); Somville (Belgium); Wiechert, Mainka, Helmert, Hecker, Schweydar (Germany); Kövesligethy (Hungary); Mihailovic (Serbia); Prince Galitzin (Russia); Count Montessus de Ballore (Chile); Klotz, Hodgson (Canada); E. C. Pickering, S. Bailey, Miss Cannon and other Harvard astronomers; G. E. Hale, founder of Yerkes and Mt.

Wilson Observatories (after whom the 200-inch Mt. Palomar telescope is named); W. W. Campbell, Director of Lick; Hussey, Director of Ann Arbor Observatory; R. H. Curtis, Barnard of Yerkes, etc., etc.

Naturally the most intimate of his scientific friends were Australians. The physicists, Professor Pollock (Sydney) and Professor Sir T. Lyle (Melbourne) were fellow-students of Trinity College, and welcomed him from the first. He was intimate with both, but especially with Professor Pollock, whose early death he deplored. On many occasions he expressed the debt he owed, for help and advice, to these friends, and to Professor Vonwiller, Pollock's successor at Sydney University, to Professor David and Professor Cotton of Sydney University and to H. C. Russell, H. A. Lenehan, and James Nangle of Sydney Observatory and P. Baracchi and J. M. Baldwin of Melbourne Observatory. One of his closest friendships, based on deep mutual esteem, was with Sir Edgeworth David, the great Australian geologist. "Surely there never was any scientific man so well beloved as he," wrote Professor David of Father Pigot. The statement is equally true of David himself. Of Professor David's many letters to Father Pigot I select for quotation one which, besides being of historic interest, reveals much of David's noble character. When news reached Sydney of the death of Captain Scott in the Antarctic, Father Pigot wrote a letter of sympathy to Scott's friend and fellow explorer. David replied:

> (University of Sydney, Feb. 14, 1913):—"I am deeply grateful to you for your most kind and sympathetic letter which went to my heart. Yes verily 'two men shall be in a field and one shall be taken and the other left.' It is hard to understand the mysterious ways of Him. While one feels overwhelmed with gratitude to Him for all his tender mercies to our party one feels that the greater responsibility is laid upon one to aim at living more worthily seeing that one's own life has been spared when so many noble lives and chivalrous spirits have been taken from among us.
>
> My dear wife is much touched and very grateful to you, and joins with me in very kind remembrances to yourself.

Father Pigot died from pneumonia at the Mater Hospital, Sydney, on May 21st, 1929. After a Requiem Mass at St. Mary's, North Sydney, at which Archbishop Kelly preached, he was buried at Gore Hill Cemetery. There was a very large attendance at Requiem and funeral, so large that traffic was blocked for a considerable distance.

Among many tributes of respect was a letter from the Acting-Premier of N.S.W., Mr. E. A. Buttenshaw, to the Rector of Riverview:

> (Premier's Office, Sydney, May 22nd)—At a meeting of the Cabinet this morning mention was made of the sad loss this State has sustained in the loss of Reverend Father Pigot, one of its most distinguished citizens. I was invited by my colleagues to convey to you, as Principal of the eminent educational establishment, with which Father Pigot had the honour to be associated, an expression of the deepest sympathy from the members of the New South Wales Ministry.

The memory of Father Pigot, who was a personal friend of many of us, will be kept ever green by reason of his high scholastic and scientific attainments, modest and unassuming demeanour, and nobility of character.

A very moving tribute by Sir Edgeworth David appeared in the *Sydney Morning Herald* (May 23rd, 1929):

Dr. Pigot was one of the brightest examples of simple faith in a Divine purpose pervading all the universe. By his death Australian science and the science of seismology have sustained a loss that is almost irreparable. He initiated what ranks now among the very best seismological observatories in the world. In addition to securing its equipment, at no little personal cost and at immense personal sacrifice, with the most up-to-date and delicate seismometers, he was able to secure the best instruments for recording the variations in heat transmitted from the sun to the earth for his solar observatory at Riverview . . .

He was well known to all leading physicists and astronomers, and, entirely because of his great reputation, the University of Sydney was able to borrow for a period of six years some extremely valuable pendulums from Germany for measuring small displacements of the earth's crust at the great reservoir at Burrinjuck. These instruments were installed in specially constructed tunnels before the water was admitted to the reservoir, and, little by little, as the vast reservoir became filled, they showed that the earth's crust was sinking slowly under the vast weight of the water. Professor Cotton, of the Geology Department at the University, is still engaged in analysing this work initiated by Dr. Pigot, which will have quite an important bearing on the physics of the earth's crust.

Dr. Pigot was a great traveller. One of his last journeys was to the Pan-Pacific Congress in Japan. At that important gathering it was most noteworthy that the scientists present were delighted to honour one who, at so much personal sacrifice, had so greatly advanced our knowledge of seismology. . . . .

It was not only for his profound learning that scientists reverenced him. They could not fail to be attracted by his magnetic personality, for, though frail and often in weak health, he ever preserved the same charming and cheerful manner, and was full of eagerness and enthusiasm in discussing plans for the better pursuit of scientific truth. Surely there never was any scientific man so well beloved as he.

Father Pigot's own attitude to his work is sufficiently expressed in the following extract from a letter written in 1911, appealing for help to his aunt, Miss Pigot :—" . . . If substantial assistance is not soon forthcoming, I have grave reason to fear that the research work which I have inaugurated here, and on the permanent success of which, for the glory of God and the good of the Church, my whole heart has been set, will collapse." The concluding phrases of the same letter may well serve as his epitaph :

" . . A few short years, at the utmost, are all that remain to me in this world, and what matters anything, provided we have helped on the Master's Cause, and secured our own eternal glory with Him? "

D. J. K. O'Connell

YEATS, SYNGE AND THE ABBEY THEATRE

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THE best literary criticism of our modern writers in English has been written mainly by writers outside Ireland, and has been chiefly concerned with the work of James Joyce and of W. B. Yeats. On the whole, American critics (notably Mr. Edmund Wilson, Mr. Kenner and Mr. Levin) have done best by Joyce, while English critics (especially Mr. Peter Ure and Mr. Graham Hough) have written the most illuminating studies of Yeats. But between these hills there are many bogs. Joyce was an erudite writer, Yeats a well-read one, and both of them found in legend, history, philosophy and incidental circumstance much that was grist for their artistic mills. Perhaps this is why the bulk of criticism dealing with them has displayed a fatal tendency to regard their work as a happy hunting-ground of influences, references, themes, philosophies, complexes and facts, rather than as literature. It seems to me that Synge, who occupies in drama a place similar to that achieved by Joyce in fiction and by Yeats in poetry, has escaped most of this kind of criticism only because so little is known about his opinions and his private life. When his nephew's expected work on Synge appears, it is doubtful if he will escape it for long. Another brake on good literary criticism of our writers is our own lack of critical interpretations of ourselves. Further, the background of our literature is so different from that of American or of English literature that critics from those countries tend to get bogged down in it and to take their eyes off the target of creative literature, forgetting in their discovery of the bog-oak souvenir inscribed with topographical and mythological references that the study of literature is one of the humanities.

I

The reaction to the kind of criticism in which the background boa-constrictor and the psychological hare contend for the Throne of Dulness has set in. Miss Vivienne Koch's recent book, *W. B. Yeats, the Tragic Phase*,[1] is a detailed examination of twelve of that writer's poems, each of which is focussed firmly within its own framework. Only when these poems have been examined without reference to anything outside themselves does Miss Koch endeavour to find some general pattern of mood or belief underlying them as a whole. This method, which is a good one to adopt with any lyric poet, is particularly refreshing when applied to Yeats,

[1] London: Routledge & Kegan Paul. 10s. 6d.

whose work has so often induced in recent years the type of " associative criticism " which Professor Wilson Knight has worked to death in his Shakespearean studies and which appeals only to those who mistake motion for light. Miss Koch's criticism is confined, and perhaps runs the risk of mistaking the blow-lamp for the torch. The underlying moods of this old man looking back at his life, full of that self-questioning which proximity to the grave inspires, and holding on to his belief that God is form, are often moods of rage and of lust. Miss Koch sees this, but perhaps misses the more constant thing underlying both, which is a sense of loneliness. Yet, though she blurs a line here or there, the general pattern which she traces is valid, precisely because she keeps the human dilemma in view.

Very different in method is the recent work on Yeats by a Swedish scholar, Birgit Bjersby, who has been following the clew of the Cuchulain theme through the labyrinth of his poems and plays.[1] This mythological figure attracted Yeats frequently throughout his long career. His first poetic treatment of it was in 1892, when he was twenty-seven ; his last was in 1939, the year of his death, and between these years he treated it dramatically in five plays, most of which he rewrote in separate versions. One of the services which Mrs. Bjersby does is that she shows the continual power of this attraction ; for Yeats's apparent discarding of his mythological coat in 1914 (in his poem " A Coat ") is too often taken to be the proclamation of his independence of myth, instead of the expression of a mood. There was nothing permanent about its attitude ; and it is a recurrent weakness of Yeats criticism that while it looks upon his interest in mythology as part of his adolescent romanticism, it takes his later interest in Byzantium, Plotinus, von Hugel and Vico as something far more permanent. It was really part of another mythology, and some time might be spent fruitfully in asking how far Yeats understood philosophy, whether Byzantium was not merely the Tir na nOg of later life, and if the answers to these questions are to be found in *A Vision*, in which Yeats set out his " system of philosophy " ?

Mrs. Bjersby begs many such questions by her lengthy summary of *A Vision*, but unfortunately neglects to ask the only question which arises with regard to it in a study of this nature ; what effect, if any, did Yeats's beliefs have upon his art ? For, if the system played any vital part in his art, the relationship between them must be shown ; if not, there is little point in devoting a chapter to *A Vision*. Disappointingly, we are left here with an unestablished relationship between a philosophy which is not philosophically assessed, and a number of fictions about Cuchulain which are not judged as artistic fictions. This is the real failure of a work which is deliberate and exact, which sets out the sources of each treatment

[1] *The Interpretation of the Cuchulain Legend in the Works of W. B. Yeats : Upsala Irish Studies :* 8*s*.

of Cuchulain, a summary of its matter, and an account of personal, historical and contemporary events which might (or might not) have influenced Yeats at the time of writing but which lacks critical judgment. Sometimes, perhaps thinking of her non-Irish readers, Mrs. Bjersby goes outside such matters, as in her survey of the topography of County Sligo or in her summary of the whole Red Branch cycle ; but the test of her method, the valuation or revaluation of each work as literature, is nowhere attempted. This is all the more disappointing because the very plays in which Yeats wrote about Cuchulain bristle with artistic difficulties and demand critical judgment. Yeats declared, for example, that he had filled *The Only Jealousy of Emer* with convictions about woman's beauty, " convictions that Robartes had found in Gyraldus." Passing over the complications arising from the fact that both Robartes and Gyraldus were fictions invented by Yeats, the question to be asked is how far convictions about anything have a place in drama ? Further, how do convictions affect this type of Nôh play in which Yeats, writing about Cuchulain, was using an esoteric form, allusive and ritualistic, which had become arid in Japan since the beginning of the seventeenth century ? For both questions reveal the essential dilemma of Yeats as a dramatist, that of a subjective lyricist, with convictions which were largely poetic inventions, employed upon what James Stephens has called " the only art that is democratic." Mrs. Bjersby quotes Yeats to the effect that *The Only Jealousy of Emer* was written to see how far masks could be used to express a change of personality, when they were changed while the player wearing them remained upon the stage ; but here again these unasked questions rise up ; for the effectiveness of a change in personality must depend upon the effectiveness with which that personality is established ; and is Cuchulain's personality in this case not blurred by his creator's convictions ? When Yeats rewrote the play as *Fighting the Waves* he tried to free it from abstraction and confusion. His stated reason was that he was rewriting it for a public stage in Holland ; so the whole question of the kind of audience he was writing for in the first instance must enter into a proper consideration of it as a literary work.

II

The second work in this series of Upsala Irish Studies is an examination by Mr. Jan Setterquist of the influence of Ibsen upon John Millington Synge.[1] The subject presents the immediate difficulty that Ibsen was mentioned by Synge only twice in his published work and that on both occasions the reference was disparaging. In the preface to *The Playboy of the Western World* Synge coupled Ibsen with Zola as " dealing with the reality of life in joyless and pallid words " ; and in the preface to *The*

[1] *Ibsen and Synge : Upsala Irish Studies.* 4s. 6d.

Tinker's Wedding he attacked him for concerning himself with contemporary problems :

> Analysts with their problems, and teachers with their systems are soon as old-fashioned as the pharmacopœia of Galen—look at Ibsen and the Germans—but the best plays of Ben Jonson and Molière can no more go out of fashion than the blackberries on the hedges.

These references indicate that if Synge was at all influenced by Ibsen it was purely towards a determination to avoid writing like him. This was the conclusion reached by Miss Bradbrook in her book on Ibsen published six years ago ; she included Synge among the writers who, at the beginning of this century, reacted strongly against the Ibsenish drama of the 'nineties. But she rightly pointed out that Ibsen, in whom Synge discerned neither humour nor poetry, had written *Peer Gynt*. This misunderstanding of Ibsen by Synge is emphasised by Mr. Setterquist, who takes a very different view of the relationship between the two dramatists. His thesis is that Synge was in fact much influenced by Ibsen and he follows it through a detailed comparison of their works. Conscious that his thesis needs very definite arguments to support it, he begins with commendable caution, quoting Synge's words against Ibsen and rebuking Legouis and Cazamian for suggesting that there was a hint of Ibsen's *Rosmersholm* in Synge's *In the Shadow of the Glen*. But as his first chapter proceeds this caution is rapidly dissipated by a series of slender parallels between the latter play and Ibsen's *A Doll's House* and *The Lady from the Sea* which he attempts to strengthen by the argument that, because Ibsen and Synge both used dramatic economy and concentration, the latter may be said to have been indebted to Ibsen for his *motif :*

> Even after he had made considerable changes in the first draft Ibsen required three acts to develop the theme of *A Doll's House*. As a matter of fact, Synge succeeded in remodelling the motif in the most severely restricted of forms, that of the one-act play . . .

Elsewhere Mr. Setterquist states that in this play Synge was employed upon a " typical Ibsenian problem." The point is that Ibsen had no monopoly of such problems, that Synge disliked problem-plays and did not write them, and that he got the story upon which he based this play not from Ibsen but from an old man of Aran. In the face of this evidence, Mr. Setterquist's conclusion is extremely tenuous :

> The fact that the plot was of native origin does not in any way exclude the possibility that the immediate world-wide success of *A Doll's House* may have been an irresistible inducement to

> Synge to try his hand at the same problem. In other words, Ibsen's drama might well have been the cause of the Irish dramatist's final decision to select that particular subject. In any case the work gives clear indication of being a variation of the well-known Norwegian theme.

Mr. Setterquist does better in his comparisons between *The Well of the Saints* and *The Wild Duck*, both dramas concerned with the conflict between illusion and reality, and between *The Playboy* and *Peer Gynt*, in both of which the hero finds himself trapped by his own fictions; but here again the argument that Synge was handling typical Ibsenian problems, the determination to see parallels in tangents and influences in contrasts, reduces the work to something which is neither good scholarship nor even reasonably good fiction. It adds nothing to either, for example, to say that *Riders to the Sea* " might almost be looked upon as being a play with a purpose," because " in creating the figure of Maurya, Synge consciously *or unconsciously* paid tribute to the hardy fisher-folk, whose joys and sorrows he made his own "; or to imply that there is a link between the two dramatists because both used language to distinguish character, and because neither depended upon the scenery to create an impression of the sea. Finally, it is surprising that a Swedish scholar should have fallen a victim to the same sort of misunderstanding of Ibsen that Synge showed in his prefaces. In discussing *A Doll's House* and *In the Shadow of the Glen* Mr. Setterquist appears to have done so:

> Where Ibsen would have raised a warning forefinger to point the moral, saying, ' This is what happens when an old man takes a young woman for his bride,' Synge simply states the fact with no moral reservations.

Now if Ibsen was this kind of moralist in one of his best plays Synge was perfectly right to dismiss him so cursorily. But Ibsen was never a catchpenny moralist. The impression that he was is largely due to the Ibsenites, who saw in *A Doll's House* only a dramatised version of a feminist tract; and it was probably this view of Ibsen, coupled with the joyless and pallid nature of the translations of his plays then current, which caused Synge's misjudgment of him. To estimate Ibsen as an analyst full of didactic answers instead of a dramatist full of questions is to do both Ibsen and literary criticism a fundamental disservice. It is notable that this work has been subsidized by the Cultural Relations Committee of the Department of External Affairs. The principle is, I think, a good one; but it is only fair to add that if it is not to be vitiated by practice the proper supervision of the quality of work so subsidized will be necessary.

III

Another subsidized work concerning our writers in English has been the recent official history of the Abbey Theatre,[1] commissioned by the Abbey Theatre authorities and compiled (if histories may properly be said to be compiled) by Mr. Lennox Robinson. This compilation consists of 224 pages, of which roughly half are devoted to lists of casts of first productions, indexes, and a reprint of Mr. Robinson's pamphlet of six years ago on the portraits in the Abbey foyer. The rest of the book consists of a commentary, in which Mr. Robinson draws copiously upon newspaper reports and upon his former edition of Lady Gregory's journals; he also includes lengthy statements by Mr. Ernest Blythe, two technicians, and a former caretaker of the Abbey Theatre. The result is a scrap-book of considerable interest in places, rather dear at the price, and containing some excellent illustrations.

One of the interesting things to be found in it is some light upon Miss Horniman's part in the Abbey Theatre. In view of the facts which Mr. Robinson presents it is quite clear that this has been underestimated; that she gave continuously and generously to the theatre; and that, as the compiler puts it, "thanks to Yeats, Lady Gregory and Fay, she became more and more set aside from the theatre she had financed." Mr. Robinson implies that Lady Gregory was chiefly responsible for this, and amusingly applies to Yeats the curtain-line of the first act of *The Playboy*; "Two fine women fighting for the likes of me!" But he also emphasises Miss Horniman's genuine love for and service to the theatre—she also established a distinguished repertory theatre in Manchester, whose university conferred upon her an honorary degree—and he indicates that friction between her and the Abbey directors was mainly over what she considered to be their lack of efficiency. This lack, incidentally, was also the reason for Thomas MacDonagh's attempt to found a better Irish theatre in 1912. By that time he regarded the Abbey as being committed entirely to peasant plays presenting insufficient scope for a genuine arts theatre. Before that, W. G. Fay had resigned for pretty much the same reasons:

> We had a company that could do peasant plays (he wrote), with an accomplishment and finish that have never been rivalled. But we should have to show much more than that before we could claim to be a real art theatre. We should have to create by degrees a company capable, both in numbers and experience, of performing any type of play. . . . Of course it would be possible to muddle through in the old way, if we were content to potter along with peasant plays, which would mean first stagnation and ultimately, when we found no more pots to boil and no more news to spread, death.

[1] *Ireland's Abbey Theatre.* London: Sidgwick & Jackson. 30s.

Fay, like MacDonagh, held that the players were getting slovenly in their work and that he would need to be given the usual power of a manager and producer. When the directors refused this, he resigned. That was in 1908, but it is worth remembering.

Of the standards of acting and of production of the Abbey Theatre during the last two decades, Mr. Robinson has nothing to say. He overlooks the "break-away" movement which led to the ill-fated Players Theatre. He does not mention the reasons for the formation of Mr. Austin Clarke's Lyric Theatre. He was in America during the stormy controversy of 1947. He is silent about the formidable list of complaints which the Abbey Theatre actors have brought before the Labour Court. Some of his facts and figures, fortunately, are revealing enough to fill in these curiously unhistorical gaps. In 1937, for example, the Peacock Theatre was started as an Experimental Theatre to encourage young Irish playwrights, producers, actors and scenic designers. "I hope," wrote Mr. C. P. Curran in the *Irish Statesman* on that occasion, "the new theatre will not be found to be the handkerchief behind which the old firm will comfortably settle down to drowse." From the statistics it is all too clear that this is exactly what happened. Between 1937 and 1939 the Experimental Theatre made three experiments: during the next nine years it made none whatever. The same story is told by the list of European masterpieces performed in the Abbey Theatre itself: during the fourteen year period 1921–1935, there were fifteen productions of translated versions of these; during the fourteen year period 1936–1950, there was one. Without experiment and without testing in plays of a wider technique and range than the average Abbey play, the stagnation foreseen by Fay was bound to come.

Another matter which demanded some assessment was the Abbey Theatre directors' policy towards Irish. On this matter Mr. Robinson is content to present a two-page statement supplied to him by Mr. Blythe. The most interesting part of the statement reads as follows:

> On 26th December, 1945, an event took place which was an innovation in the work of the Abbey Theatre—Pantomime entirely in the Irish language was performed. Although the Directors would not regard Pantomime in English as being a suitable activity for the Theatre, they considered—having regard to all the facts of Irish life and to the national policy—enshrined in the Constitution and endorsed by successive Governments—of fostering the Irish language, that the Abbey Theatre ought to undertake Pantomime in Irish.

The difficulty with this pronouncement is to discern what artistic principle, if any, underlines it. If the English style of pantomime is not considered a suitable activity for the Abbey Theatre, there is hardly a case

for the Abbey style of " Irish " pantomime, which for all its top-dressin of Irish legend annually repeats the sentimental clichés, the vulgarity c spectacle and the weak jokes of current English pantomime. Clearly thi sort of production does nothing to improve the art of the theatre. An even if it is assumed that the Abbey Theatre has some contribution t make to the language revival, surely this contribution should be artistic Yet, since the innovation of 1945, an innovation which now absorbs mos of the government grant to An Comhar Dramiochta, original plays i Irish have declined from eleven in the period 1939–45 to two in the perio 1945–50. The innovation has also influenced the selection of players fo the theatre. It is now the policy of the theatre " not to take on any new junior players who are not able to perform both in Irish and in English " and these junior players presumably find their ability to perform in Irish chiefly exercised in an annual pantomime in which boogie-woogie songs and poor jokes in a debased form of Irish are represented to be fostering the Irish language. The acceptance of this cheap pretence means nothing less than the slow paralysis of one dramatic tradition in the name of another which has been strangled at birth.

In general these four books indicate that our literature in English, which still lacks proper critical appreciation at home, is being studied with increasing seriousness abroad. If the work of the Swedish scholars shows that seriousness, like patriotism, is not enough, it also shows the spaciousness of our untilled field and the determination of foreigners to cultivate it ; while Mr. Robinson's compilation, in the main a slovenly and uncritical book, displays that kind of inexcusable evasion of responsibility which sows the land with salt and rusts the harrows.

ROGER MCHUGH

THE OECUMENICAL MOVEMENT

BY STEPHEN J. BROWN, S.J.

"CHRISTIAN UNITY," writes Father Charles Boyer, S.J., in a recent book,[1] "is one of the great problems of our time. Christians—that is, all who recognize Jesus Christ as their Lord and God —are profoundly divided, and now more than ever before they are suffering from their disunion." And, in a foreword to the same book, Father La Farge insists that "at no period of history were religious differences so great a threat to the world's peace and unity." Divided Christendom is almost helpless against the unity of organised atheism.

Thoughtful minds both inside and outside of the Catholic Church have felt acutely ever since the Eastern Schism, and especially since the Protestant revolt, the disaster and the scandal of disunity. From time to time scattered attempts at reunion have been made on both sides. But it was not until some fifty years ago that what is now known as the Oecumenical Movement began. It took at first the form of an attempt to unite the Protestant churches, but as time went on it came to be realized more and more that all attempts at a restoration of unity to the Church were futile if the Roman Catholic Church was left out of them.

As my purpose in this article is to recall the Catholic contributions to the movement, I shall touch only very briefly on the Protestant effort, though that has been very noteworthy. I do not propose to deal with the Eastern schism.

In 1910, Protestant missionaries (nowhere is Christian disunion more disastrous than it is in the foreign missions), organized a Congress in Edinburgh for the purpose of working towards reunion. Charles Brent, then Episcopalian Bishop of the Philippines, was present, and there and then conceived the idea of a world conference of Christians to promote reunion. He was cordially received in 1915 by Benedict XV but was informed that the Catholic Church could not take part in such a conference, for in attending it she might have seemed to doubt her legitimacy and to be seeking the true Church outside herself. A conference, however, was held at which two different trends began to make themselves felt. One tendency was to seek agreement on action rather than on doctrine. This was called *Work and Life*. The other was more concerned with dogma and came to be called *Faith and Order*. These tendencies, under the same titles, still remain active. In 1925 the former group, led by Bishop Söderblom of Upsala, held a conference at Stockholm attended by 610

[1] *One Shepherd : The Problem of Christian Reunion*. pp. 142. (New York : Kenedy, 1952). Father Boyer is at present Prefect of Studies and Dean of the theological faculty of the Pontifical Gregorian University in Rome. He has, as we shall see, long been associated with Catholic efforts towards Christian Reunion. This little book is a compendium of his many writings on the subject.

delegates representing 31 different religious denominations. It reached some agreement on practical action. At the Lausanne Conference of the *Faith and Order* group led by Bishop Brent, distress at doctrinal differences became the dominant feeling. Separate conferences of the two groups continued to be held, for instance, that of the *Work and Life* group at Oxford in 1937, that of the *Faith and Order* group at Edinburgh the same year.

But even the pragmatic group came to be convinced that sooner or later doctrinal differences would have to be faced. This growing conviction led to a joint conference at Utrecht at which it was decided to call a Universal (or oecumenical) Council of Churches. This was planned for 1941 but, owing to the war, was not actually held till 1948 at Amsterdam. It was attended by delegates from 148 Christian bodies including some from Ethiopia, India and Japan. Delegates from the Orthodox Church were few but important. The Moscow Synod declined to take part. The Catholic Church, while offering prayers for the success of the Conference, maintained the attitude of Benedict XV. " This imposing effort toward unity," writes Father Boyer, " accompanied as it was by fervent prayer, was a manifestation of progress and a promise of better days." Nevertheless, the degree of doctrinal union achieved was slight. Its most important results were the creation of an Oecumenical Council and the strong desire for union, even with Rome, which inspired its members. For, the present leaders of the Council are sincerely striving to establish friendly relations with the Church. Moreover, the Council has declared the divinity of Christ to be the fundamental doctrine which all its members must accept. Such in bare outline is the story of the Oecumenical movement among our separated brethren.

I have not mentioned the Anglo-Catholic movement because its members, if I mistake not, are but mildly interested, if at all, in reunion with the definitely Protestant bodies, Lutherans, Calvinists, Methodists, etc. We shall have something to say about them later.

Can we in any way assess the significance of this movement? Father Boyer considers that the agreement on the divinity of Christ is of capital importance. For this doctrine implies the mysteries of the Blessed Trinity, the Incarnation, and the Redemption, and from these the transition seems easy to belief in the Church as the providential continuation of Christ's work of salvation. In a word, sincere belief in the divinity of our Lord disposes one to believe all that is in harmony with it, all the teaching contained in His recorded words, and to long for the fulfilment of His prayer at the Last Supper—" The glory that thou has given me, I have given to them, *that they may be one.*" (John xvii, 22).

Another ground of hope is the fact that the original causes of separation, in particular the abuses prevalent in the pre-Reformation Church, no longer exist. A succession of great and holy Popes have won the

admiration even of Protestants. Devotion to Our Lady is not unknown among Protestants. I remember entering a little Anglican (formerly Catholic) chapel in Cambridge and finding there a little altar of Our Lady with flowers and candles. Only minor groups of ultra-Protestants talk of idolatry in that connection. The cross has been restored to the roofs, and even the interiors, of many Anglican churches. The religious life has been flourishing to an even greater extent within the Anglican communion.[1] This has led not only to many individual conversions to Catholicism but in at least two important instances—that of the Monks of Caldey in England and that of the Community of Graymoor in the United States, to the reception into the Church of entire communities.

Let us now pass to positive efforts, by writings and otherwise, towards reunion on the part of Catholics.

II

Before mentioning more recent contributions to the problem of reunion let me recall certain slightly older works that still retain their value. The earliest in order of date was *Rome and Reunion* (1921), by the Abbé J. Calvet, the English translation of which appeared in 1928 with an Introduction by Lord Halifax. The Abbé, a very distinguished man of letters, while stressing the doctrinal intransigence of the Catholic Church, is perhaps a little Utopian about corporate reunion. An idea he rightly insists upon is that if Catholics generally were all they ought to be as Catholics, the road to reunion would be greatly smoothed.[2] The second work *The Church and Reunion* by Father Vincent McNabb, O.P. (London: Burns Oates, 1937), is a collection of articles and addresses bearing on various aspects of the problem of reunion, chiefly the movements within the Anglican Church. The author describes it as "the gathering of a lifetime." The third book is an elaborate and erudite treatise, likewise the work of a Dominican, Père Congar, O.P. It is *Chrétiens Désunis*, translated into English under the title *Divided Christendom* (London: Bles, 1939). It studies in turn the divisions of Christendom, the Unity of the Church, the Catholicity of the One Church, the theories underlying the Oecumenical Movement, the Anglican Conception of Unity, the Status of Our Separated Brethren, and outlines a practical programme. This is not, however, the place to discuss the doctrine of this book.

I intend to deal at greater length with a more recent contribution to our subject, a lecture delivered in Lyons on 21st January, 1949, by M.

[1] I have before me a *Guide to the Religious Communities of the Anglican Communion*. (London: Mowbray, 1951), which lists and describes some fourteen different communities of men and no less than seventy-five of women.

[2] Father Boyer writes, "The most fruitful activity towards union is undoubtedly zealous collaboration with the sanctifying work of the Church." *Op. cit.*, p. 126.

Jean Guitton, a well-known French philosopher, and later published in the *Nouvelle Revue Théologique*, July-August, 1949, pp. 673 *seq.*

It is cast in the form of personal souvenirs of the Catholic oecumenical movement. In 1925, the author made the acquaintance of Père Portal, C.M., and of Lord Halifax. Of them he has interesting things to say which I must pass over. He does not attempt a history of the Conversations of Malines in which these two friends took part under the auspices of Cardinal Mercier. Instead he endeavours to formulate the spirit in which they were undertaken. There was first the idea that nothing is impossible to the Almighty and that, as St. John records in Ch. XVII of his Gospel, Christ prayed that all Christians should be one and gave His life for that end. And so there could be no greater work than to labour for the same purpose in spite of every obstacle. Then there was the idea that since the Churches had separated by a corporate movement and under the leadership of their heads, it should be by a similar movement under the guidance of the leaders of the respective churches that Christian union might be brought about; that consequently the heads of the various religious bodies should meet in order to discover what they hold in common and what still keeps them apart, seeking in a spirit of charity to narrow down the divergences without sacrificing truth; that, once the snares of language and terminology had been set aside, the common ground would turn out to be really very extensive; that those taking part should not be surprised at any hitch or grow impatient at any delay, but should take everything as it came and be ever ready to make a fresh start.

Next there was the idea that even before reaching any understanding in the sphere of doctrine, the concrete practical way in which one church could be assimilated to another should be discussed. That this might involve on the part of Rome certain adjustments and modifications in the matter of ecclesiastical discipline and government, and possibly the revival of certain ancient usages, and on the part of the church newly united to Rome concessions (in view of appeasing consciences) going as far as reordination of ministers. Finally, that Christianity was already facing difficult times and might have to face times still more difficult. Might not this be taken as a sign that the time had come in God's providence for Christians to come together in that unity for which Christ had prayed?

The present writer is in no way qualified to pass judgement on the famous Conversations which for the past twenty years have been a subject of controversy. I shall content myself in the first place with drawing attention to a pamphlet, a copy of which lies before me, viz., *Catholiques et Anglicans*: vingt ans après les Conversations de Malines. It is by the Abbé Robert Kothen and is one of the Editions Catholicité (11 rue des Frères Vaillant, Lille, 1946). It is a spirited and well documented defence of the Conversations against the strictures of Mr. Ernest Oldmeadow in his *Life of Cardinal Bourne*. In his Foreword he maintains that " plus

que jamais ' l'esprit ' des conversations subsiste." This claim is borne out by the important work of Jacques Bivort de la Saudée *Le Problème de l'Union Anglo-Romaine*, 2 vols (Paris : Plon, 1949), which fully discusses the Conversations.

They themselves, however, according to M. Guitton are a thing of the past. They have been, not repudiated but ' *dépassées*,' and the very ideas that prompted them have been modified by a new spirit—Oecumenism. The remainder of his lecture is devoted to explaining this new spirit with its fresh approach to the problem.

In the first place, those immediately concerned tend to think not so much of *union* as of a certain unity in charity. It is realized that, whereas the reunion of the Orthodox church to Rome is humanly feasible, there is no conceivable human way for the Protestant churches to return to visible unity : that problem is only divinely soluble. Feeling this, Catholics and Protestants will seek, not to get the better of one another in controversy but to *know* one another. Theology will on both sides be rethought from an oecumenical point of view. Each side will study the fifteen centuries which they may be said to have in common. Moreover, neither side thinks any longer of corporate reunion in a foreseeable future. In this respect, suggests M. Guitton, oecumenism might be described (thinking of the early Christians and the Parousia) as " the delay of the return."

In the meantime what is to be the attitude of Catholics and non-Catholics in relation to truth and charity ? At one time or another the idea has found favour, chiefly outside the Catholic Church, that there is truth on both sides in controverted matters, and that we must look for a higher synthesis in the manner of Hegel. Unfortunately for this idea contradictory beliefs simply cannot be synthesised. Truth is one : it cannot be watered down without ceasing to be. It is vain to seek a least common multiple of the conflicting theologies. Another attitude is : " I hold the truth unmixed with error. I stay where I am. It is for you to come over to me." This attitude, too, is unacceptable. It respects the bare truth but ignores charity. Oecumenism is an infusion of charity into truth so that truth itself may be complete.

In other words conscious possession of the treasure of truth ought to involve a longing to spread it to those who do not possess it, as being the greatest benefit we could bestow. And that again should imply an effort to understand the others' point of view and fully allow for whatever truth their beliefs may include. To put the matter in more concrete terms, if I may, this means that Catholics who seriously take up the cause of reunion should study Protestantism, its history and present doctrines, and should be fully aware of the efforts that have been made towards one or other form of reunion, whether by non-Catholic bodies among themselves or by Catholics and Protestants jointly. Without this, humanly speaking at all events, only a stray sheep here and there will find the way into the fold.

Oecumenism therefore implies the maxim that there is no such thing as a purely one-sided effort towards a sympathetic approach. We cannot expect the other party to do everything. To the hard road that non-Catholics have to tread in order to reach the Church there should correspond a hard effort on the part of Catholics to make that road smoother and less steep. And M. Guitton quotes Newman to the effect that the Church should be ready for converts as well as converts for the Church.

Oecumenism again leads to a deeper study of the catholicity of the Church. As for unity, as the present Holy Father recently recalled, it is not a thing that is to be brought about ; it is a thing that exists. Hence, let it be said in parenthesis, there is always something ambiguous about the use of the word " reunion," as though the return of dissident bodies were needed in order that the Church should once more be one. With catholicity it is otherwise, for it admits degrees. The Church is certainly catholic or universal in the catechism sense, but obviously it is not as catholic as it might be. Its catholicity, to quote M. Guitton, " sera à l'état d'adolescence tant qu'il n'aura pas recueuilli en lui toute la plénitude." At present the Church's catholicity is not so much actual as *virtual*[1] i.e., by its very nature and structure capable of embracing all Christians and non-Christians, though to do so actually the Church might have to modify certain non-essentials. Oecumenism seeks to fill the gap between " virtuality " and actuality or rather between actual historical development and its possible fullness.

Such is Catholic oecumenism. The lecturer then goes on to consider non-Catholic oecumenism as seen in action at Amsterdam and in its theories. In this I shall not at the moment follow him. I shall only record with full acquiescence his conclusion that no oecumenical movement has any chance of success unless it is conducted on both sides in a spirit of imperturbable patience and deep Christian charity and unless it ultimately relies on prayer.

III

We may consider next a book by the well-known German Catholic writer, Dr. Karl Adam. An English translation of it has recently been published under the title *One and Holy* (New York : Sheed & Ward, 1952). My quotations and references, however, are from the French translation which first came to hand.

To understand the writer's point of view it is essential to bear in mind that the contents of his book were first set forth in 1947 in the form of addresses before a numerous assembly of the œcumenical association known as Una Sancta, and that it is a further development, from a theo-

[1] Such is M. Guitton's suggestion. It would, I think, be more accurate to say that the Church's catholicity, properly defined, is actual, even if not complete.

logical point of view, of ideas set forth in a book by Johannes Hessen, entitled *Luther as Seen by a Catholic* (Bonn, 1947). It is plain that Dr. Adam fully shares Dr. Hessen's great admiration for the qualities of Luther. Moreover, his historical conclusions are based on two other German works—Karl Bihlmeyer's History of the Church and Joseph Lortz[1] on the Reformation in Germany. The point of view, therefore, is definitely German and, primarily at least, German Protestantism is in question. There is, nevertheless, I think, much in the book that may be of interest to readers in English-speaking countries. I shall not attempt to summarize its 170 pages, but I hope to say enough about it to induce those interested in the great problem of the return to unity of our separated brethren to acquire and read it.

Let me say at once that there are statements in this book with which, rightly or wrongly, I find myself in disagreement. Is it not, for instance, excessive to say (p. 28) of the Renaissance Popes that " ils se livrèrent à une ivresse démoniaque du pouvoir et à toutes leurs passions." The words on the next page about Alexander VI are still more violent and are quite without qualification, despite the work of de Roo and Ferrara. Again is it quite correct to say that in the failure of efforts towards union both sides are blameworthy, " et c'est surtout Rome qui est en faute."? On p. 88 there are some expressions about the Mass, e.g., that it is " simplement la représentation cultuelle du sacrifice unique du Golgotha," and that it " remet sous les yeux le sacrifice *passé* du Christ " which seem like a dangerous whittling down of the Catholic doctrine. And on p. 94, " the school founded by the Jesuit Louis Molina " is charged (for that is what the author's paragraph amounts to) with rendering conversion needlessly difficult for Lutherans.[2]

But I am dealing here with this book not in order to criticize it but in order to bring it to the attention of all whom it concerns. The main thesis of the book would seem to amount to this that, if ever there is to be a union between the Lutheran confessions and the Church, the former must get back to Luther himself and the latter to the Fathers and to the great scholastics of the Middle Ages. For it is the theologians on both sides that are chiefly responsible for the deep trench or ditch that has been dug between the two sides (p. 95 mid.). By this of course the author does not mean that the Lutherans of to-day are simply to accept Luther's position as final for them, nor that Catholics are to sweep aside the entire structure of theology built up since St. Thomas and above all since the Council of Trent. But merely that the *start* of the *rapprochement* between the two sides be made from the lines suggested. It is as

[1] A new edition of his *History of the Reformation in Germany* has just been published by Herder of Freiburg.

[2] For these reasons and for others I should hesitate to recommend this otherwise admirable little work unreservedly to the general public. It will nevertheless be of interest to priests and others specially qualified in this matter.

though two parties which had entered into hostilities should be ordered by a superior authority (League of Nations or UNO) to break them off and go back to the positions they occupied before the hostilities broke out.

In developing this thesis Dr. Adam begins by examining the causes of the Reformation. He paints an extremely dark picture of the moral and disciplinary state of the Church at the close of the Middle Ages. He shows that some of the fundamental doctrines afterwards attacked by Luther were already undermined by certain Catholic theologians; that, thanks to the Great Schism and to the Avignon exile, to unjustified claims and to financial exactions, the Papacy had fallen into discredit and in certain quarters was heartily hated. The misdeeds of the Popes themselves made matters worse. And the clergy higher and lower were on the whole far from what they ought to be. Disorder and abuses reigned within the cloister. All this is of course well known to Catholic historians. In these addresses it was set forth in its darkest colours before a mixed assembly of laymen. Perhaps it is just as well that they should know the worst, and certainly Dr. Adam spared them nothing and did not mince his words. Nepotism, simony, concubinage, superstition, sale of indulgences—nothing is concealed. He is careful, no doubt, to allow a few gleams of sunlight to light up the landscape here and there. But "ce fut Rome en première ligne qui répandit les ombres de la nuit sur l'Eglise." (p. 42). Such a statement, again, is surely exaggerated.[1]

It was amid such a condition of things that Luther arose, and the second part of Dr. Adam's book is devoted to showing how Luther turned away from the Church. Two main reasons are given for this :—

(1) His intense disgust and indignation about things as they were, coupled with despair of their being remedied from above.[2]

(2) His studies and his own peculiar temperament.

To the first are attributed his violent attacks on the rulers of the Church. To the second his doctrinal deviations. This latter line of argument seems to me of peculiar interest. It runs more or less as follows. Luther early in life began to live in a psychosis of fear, terror of sin and of the Judgement. This continued even after he became a monk and then a priest. He was of a robust and exuberant vitality which led to temptations and to falls. (p. 58 mid.). On the other hand he was of an extraordinarily sensitive and emotional temperament, though "*profondément saine*" (p. 54). During his studies he fell in with the prevailing fashion in philosophy and theology, the Scotist system in its extreme form as taught by the Franciscan Ockham. Ockhamism, says Dr. Adam, was fatal to him.

[1] It should be remembered that during the Reformation period there lived no less than 117 holy men and women who were subsequently canonized. The list will be found in *A Critic Looks at the Catholic Church*, by H. A. Johnston, S.J. Page 128.

[2] The important question is, which came first, his doctrinal heresies or his indignation about the state of the Church. Dr. Adam rightly judges that it was the heresies. The abuses in the Church were not the real *cause* but only the *occasion* of the Reformation. (Pp. 30—1).

From it he borrowed most of the ideas that he was afterwards to develop, including (by reaction) his doctrine of grace and justification. Thanks to Ockhamism he was wholly out of sympathy with the traditional and sound scholastic doctrine of grace. Had he been sufficiently familiar with that doctrine, the mysterious " event of the tower " which was the immediate cause of his apostasy would not have taken place. As it was, this event gave him his doctrine of justification by faith alone, faith as he understood it, and at the same time freed him from his dread of sin and Judgement. For were not all his sins, without any doing of his own except his act of faith, covered by the merits of Christ? At the same time he was freed from Ockhamism which he had taken to be the true Catholic doctrine whereas it was not. He then went forth to the fight with overwhelming confidence in his mission, he who alone had rediscovered the Gospel. Once launched on this new career, not by logical conclusions but by his temperament raised to intense energy by real or fancied religious experiences, he went from denial to denial and from dissidence to open revolt.

Dr. Adam then proceeds to attempt answers to two questions. Is reunion possible? and if so what are the conditions and prerequisites that should render it possible? Going back to Luther in search of an answer to the first question, he points out again the extremely subjective nature of the processes that led Luther to his doctrine of justification by faith alone and from there to various consequences of that doctrine, including his way of interpreting the Bible. The whole Lutheran doctrine, in fact, and the Lutheran communion itself is based on a subjectivity and not on the objective traditional Christian teaching. But, such as it is, Dr. Adam is of opinion that the original teaching of Luther could without much difficulty be reconciled with Catholic teaching.[1] This he endeavours at some length to show, for instance in regard to conscience and private judgement, to Faith and the doctrine of the Bible as the sole ground of the Faith, to Faith alone as the cause of justification, and to the rejection of the Papacy. The rest of this second part is in reality an admirable exposition and defence of Catholic teaching.

Dealing next with the ways and means of bringing about reunion, he further examines divergencies between Catholic doctrine and the original Lutheranism with a view to showing how the differences can be narrowed down almost to vanishing point, or at least to the precise point at which Luther diverged from Catholic doctrine. He shows how the Church's principal doctrines, including those denied by Luther, go back to Christ, whether as explicitly stated in the Gospels, immediately deducible from Gospel facts and statements, or set forth in the teaching of apostles and others in closest contact with Christ and His teaching. Among these

[1] I merely record this opinion of Dr. Adam without endorsing it.

doctrines are the Church's institutional and hierarchical character, the priesthood, Catholic Mariology, and the development of doctrine itself. When all is said, there is but one way to bring about unity, viz., to unite with the Church by entering her fold. Branch theories and theories of a Mystical Body consisting of separated and dispersed members must be firmly set aside as untenable.

On the other hand, Catholics must candidly acknowledge the sins, injustices, and errors of the past history of the Church, and Dr. Adam quotes (p. 131) to this effect a confession of the last Germanic Pope, Adrian VI, in 1523. They must also acknowledge the cruel loss sustained by the Church in losing millions of members. Here Dr. Adam expresses a conception dear to the German mind, viz., that by this loss the Church appeared to be narrowed down to a community of Celto-Romans fringing the Mediterranean (p. 133). He seems to forget the Poles, Lithuanians, Hungarians, and indeed large numbers of Germans, Czechs, Austrians, and others who remained faithful to the Holy See and the Catholic Faith. He is of course justified in pointing out the more or less permanent injury done to the Church herself as a result of the Reformation and the subsequent struggle against heresy.

The last thirty pages of this thoughtful and deeply earnest book are devoted to laying down the principles which should animate and guide every effort towards an understanding between the Church and those outside. I can do no more at the moment than make a bare mention of them. They are three viz. (1) Each party must take its own church seriously " Qui n'a jamais pris au sérieux sa propre église n'en prendra jamais une autre au sérieux " ; (2) Our efforts at unity must be based on considerations neither of politics nor of culture, nor must they be æsthetico-romantic. The efforts must be *religious* and based on prayer. And all preconceived hostile prejudices must be laid aside ; (3) All the members of *Una Sancta* must draw from their common love for Christ the resolution to do all in their power to bring together the faithful of the two churches. There must indeed be no attempt to minimise real differences of doctrine, but these differences should be set forth in a positive and peaceful manner in the spirit of oecumenism.

There still remains the question of what the dissident body returning to the centre of unity must be called upon to sacrifice. In the matter of dogma there can be no question of compromise, no *via media*. But in the sphere of devotion, of discipline, of church government there is room for concessions on the part of the Church. It should be remembered that each heresy is not a mere error but the extreme development, the exaggeration of some particular truth. The nucleus of truth which it holds within it must be brought to light and fostered. And all genuine religious experiences must be cherished. Thus then the Protestant ready to return to unity need not fear for the welfare of his spiritual life. Moreover, if

there were question of corporate conversions Dr. Adam thinks that the Church would decide upon " profound " changes in the matter of disciplinary prescriptions (p. 159 ff.), some of which he suggests. He dwells upon the gains that would accrue to the Church from such accessions, on the great services rendered to Christianity by Protestant theologians in the domain of ecclesiastical history, religious psychology, the history of dogmas, and of the Bible—this last in a very special way. The Church would likewise be enriched by the moral qualities of Protestants. The converts on their side would gain the incomparable riches of Catholic worship and above all the Mass.

All this may look as if Dr. Karl Adam hoped for corporate reunion in the near future. Not so : like M. Guitton he believes it to be humanly impossible. He knows that in any case individual conversions must gradually pave the way. Meanwhile if we cannot unite with our separated brethren in faith, we can unite with them in charity and in prayer.

IV

M. Guitton's lecture and Dr. Karl Adam's work in its original German form and also in its French translation preceded the important Instruction on the Oecumenical Movement issued by the Holy See and dated December 20th, 1949.[1] The purpose of the Instruction was twofold, viz., first to lay down certain directives governing the attendance of Catholics at discussions of religious matters with members of other faiths. The duty of seeing that due precautions are observed is left to the Bishops who will prescribe what is or is not to be done. Secondly, the Instruction restates the Catholic conception of union, viz., the return of dissidents to the Catholic Church. In discussions with non-Catholics there must be no dissimulation, no whittling down of Catholic doctrine. Catholics are to " take a firm stand against any exaggeration of shortcomings on the Catholic side at the time of the Reformation together with a glossing over of the Reformers' errors," and they are to refrain from suggesting that the Papal teachings about the return of our separated brethren to the Church, about the Mystical Body, or about the constitution of the Church are not to be taken too seriously. All this may sound somewhat negative. On the other hand the Instruction admits the usefulness of conferences between Catholics and non-Catholics when properly conducted, and it praises the " excellent work for the ' reunion ' of all Christians." It concludes by saying that " nothing will contribute more towards preparing the way for our separated brethren to embrace the Faith and enter the Church than the living by Catholics of edifying lives in accord with their Faith."

[1] An English translation of this document was published in the *Tablet* of 4 March, 1950.

We may now bring this article to an end by recording certain conclusions reached in the work mentioned at its beginning. These conclusions I shall summarize very briefly under three heads :—(*a*) Means and methods ; (*b*) Difficulties and Obstacles ; (*c*) Hopes and prospects. (*a*) Father Boyer argues out very fully the controverted question of individual conversions *versus* corporate reunion, and concludes that the former are not merely inevitable but desirable, and do not tend to hinder corporate reunion (pp. 103–111).[1] He approves of friendly meetings and discussions between Catholics and those of other faiths, and says of the Conversations of Malines : " Viewed historically these Conversations were a generous attempt that has lighted up the road back to Roman unity and very probably shortened it " (p. 91). " No other means, after prayer and good example is more efficacious than well-prepared discussions held in an atmosphere of complete loyalty and friendship."

(*b*) The difficulties may be summarized as follows :—

(1) The multifarious and protean character of Protestantism and even of Anglicanism. Of the latter Father Vincent McNabb said : " It is impossible that all the Church of Rome should unite with all the Church of England until all the Church of England believes alike."

(2) Traditional and ingrained prejudices whether for the *national* church or against the Papacy and " Romanism." Also mutual misunderstandings.

(3) Real doctrinal differences which cannot be glossed over.

(4) The Bull *Apostolicae Curae* of 1896 in which Pope Leo XIII declared the invalidity of Anglican orders.

(5) The most formidable obstacle—the need of acknowledging the supreme authority and jurisdiction of the Holy See. But against that there is the growing prestige of the Holy See, not among Catholics only but among men of good will the world over.

(*c*) Hopes and prospects are many and various. To deal with them adequately more space would be needed than can be allotted to it here, but earlier in this article I have glanced at some of them. Others are the genuine desire, the nostalgia, for unity. This is, perhaps naturally, much stronger outside the Catholic Church where the lack of unity is so glaringly apparent, than it is within.

2. The movements towards integral Catholic faith on the part of those separated from the Church. These have been briefly set forth in the first part of this article. But I must now mention more explicitly the Anglo-Catholic movement which keeps drawing ever nearer to fulness of faith, including even increasing recognition of the position and claims of the Holy See. It is, as Father Boyer reminds us, a continuation of

[1] The individual conversions in England in 1949 amounted to 11,557, which is about the annual average number. In the United States the average number is about 120,000.

the Oxford Movement which led to so many conversions. At present it is unfortunately too much obsessed with the idea of corporate reunion.[1] At the General Assembly of the Church of England in 1938 the following declaration was made :—" We are 1,016 clergymen who have in these last eight years subscribed to the faith of the Council of Trent and pledged ourselves to preach it in our parishes. Moreover, some 2,000 others are in sympathy with our aims." More recently delegates from this group went to Rome to visit and express their veneration for the Holy Father.

Another Anglican movement with oecumenical aims is the Student Christian Movement with a press which, among other publications, publishes those of the *Faith and Order* group and the Amsterdam Assembly Reports.

On the Catholic side there are several active reunion movements. In England there is the *Sword of the Spirit*, with its periodical organ. On the Continent there is *Unitas*, with its organ of the same title, of which Father Charles Boyer is Editor. In Germany there is the *Unam Sanctam*,[2] a joint movement of Catholics and Lutherans, with an impressive list of oecumenical publications to its credit. In the United States was initiated the Church Unity Octave, observed every year from the Feast of St. Peter's Chair, January the 18th, to that of the Conversion of St. Paul, January 25th, not by Catholics only but by many Protestants and Orthodox. First suggested by the convert Franciscan of the Atonement, Father Paul of Graymoor, it was approved and blessed by Pope Pius X in 1909. Father Boyer sees in this " one of the most powerful means by which Christ calls out to the sheep who are outside the fold of His Vicar." Belgium has contributed to the reunion movement the review, *Irénikon : La Revue Catholique de l'Oecuménisme*, published by the Benedictine monks of Amay, near Chèvetogne. *Pax Romana*, too, is interested in the movement and the number of its periodical for March-April, 1951, is devoted to the problem of reunion ; and *Blackfriars*, edited by the English Dominicans, carried in its April-May issue of 1950, a Symposium on the reunion of Christendom.

* * * * *

These efforts, no doubt, are but straws in the wind : they leave unaffected the great mass both of Catholics and of Protestants. Yet, I venture to think, they are straws which show which way the wind is blowing, at all events among believers.

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[1] The Rev. T. Whitton estimates their number to be about half a million. (*The Necessity for Catholic Reunion*, p. 124).

[2] So named from the words of the Creed recited at Mass. The movement is known alternatively as *Una Sancta*.

To those who desire further information about recent developments in Oecumenism the following indications may be of use :—

JACQUES BIVORT DE LA SAUDÉE. *Le Problème de l'Union Anglo-Romaine.* Two vols. (Paris : Plon 1949).

DR. G. K. A. BELL. *Christian Unity.* The Anglican Position. (London : Hodder and Stoughton. 1948).

LOUIS A. HASELMAYER. *Lambeth and Unity.* (New York : Morehouse-Gorham. London : Dacre Press. 1948).

H. R. T. BRANDRETH. *Unity and Reunion.* A Bibliography. (London : Black 1948).

K. L. CARRICK SMITH. *The Church and the Churches.* A Book on Christian Unity. (London : Student Christian Movement. 1948).

H. G. G. HERKLOTS. *Amsterdam,* 1948. (London : S. C. M. Press, 1948), and same publishers : *Amsterdam Assembly Reports.*

REV. CANON W. J. SEXTON. *Christians Unite.* (London : Faith Press. 1949).

WILLIAM NICHOLLS. *Ecumenism and Christianity.* (London : Student Christian Movement, 1952).

R. AUBERT. *Le Saint Siège et l'Union des Eglises.* (Brussels : Editions Universitaires, 1949).

A. E. J. RAWLINSON. *Problems of Reunion.* (London : Eyre & Spottiswoode 1950).

F. W. DILLISTONE. *The Structure of the Divine Society.* (London : Lutterworth Press. 1952).

LOUIS A. HASELMAYER. *Lambeth and Unity.* (New York : Morehouse-Gorham ; London : Dacre Press. 1948).

RALPH RUSSELL, O.S.B. *Anglicanism and Reunion.* A pamphlet. (Catholic Records Press. 1948).

Documents on Christian Unity. Three Series. (Oxford University Press).

Catholicism To-Day. (The *Times,* 1949). The famous correspondence occasioned by an article which appeared in the *Times* of October 31st. The letters were partly controversial, partly " irenic."

Le Sens de l'Unité. (Paris : Casterman), 1947. A series of doctrinal " *Causeries* " delivered at a Semaine d'Unité, here reprinted along with " *Messages* " from Claudel, Mauriac, and Daniel-Rops.

Etudes, July–Aug., 1948. Où en est le mouvement œcuménique ?

„ April, 1949, p. 137. Le Saint Siège et l'Union des Eglises.

„ May, 1950. Le Saint Office devant les mouvements œcuméniques.

La Vie Intellectuelle, Feb., 1952, pp. 141, *sqq.*

Theological Studies. March, 1949, p. 133. On the *Una Sancta* Movement.

Many pamphlets issued by *Catholicité Lille,* 1947–50, e.g., *Chrétiens devant l'Oecumenisme and Eglite et Unité.*

STEPHEN J. BROWN

EVOLUTION AND ENTHUSIASM

BY MICHAEL A. MacCONAILL, M.B., D.SC.

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IT is a fact—I stake my honour on it—that a reputable British scientist once asked me not to show some workingmen the innards of a monkey. Of a cat, aye; but of a monkey, no: the thing would be indecent. I forbore, for he was a good man and a friend; nor would I offend his moral sense in such a small thing. He had but one god, Evolution, and Darwin was Its prophet. His creed begot a code, as a creed should do. To him your ape was but man infant, and he would as lief dissect an infant before laymen as its presumptive cousin. He was agnostic in matters of the soul but—as happens with his kind—he took doubt touching evolution as, at best, a joke in bad taste.

Four books printed lately have reminded me of this. Three of them deal with evolutionism by name and purpose, the fourth takes it as one of many topics. All are by Catholics. The widely differing opinions of their authors prove, were proof needed, that we have no party-line upon the subject. They are, by the way, of very different worth. Dr. Fothergill gives us a history of the business[1]; Mrs. Barclay puts him and many others in their place[2]; Dr. Taylor is both concise and urbane[3]; and Fr. Troy has given us a new edition of a writing by the late Archbishop Sheehan.[4] Between them they say nearly all that can be said in this field.

Evolution is dry, not interesting. The hypothesis that underlies every assertion that evolution has occurred is a hypothesis about history. In the end the only proof can come from the world's longest chronicle—the record of the rocks. The ultimate question is not *Could evolution have occurred*? but *Did evolution occur*? It is not *Had our living things ancestors*? but rather *What sort of ancestors had they*? Take a man and make him a paleontologist. Give him money to travel the free world and secure him passage through the slave. Let him view rock-sites and study museum hoards. Then ask him what he has done. Could he not reply: *Behold! I stood in a valley of dried bones . . .* and then go on to utter the prophet's prayer that those dried bones might live, coming together bone to bone, nerve to nerve? Yet he could expect no answer to his prayer. We may not go back in time. We may see the stars, but not the

[1] *Historical Aspects of Organic Evolution.* Philip G. Fothergill. (1952). Hollis & Carter, London. 35s.

[2] *Challenge to the Darwinians.* Vera Barclay. (1951). R. H. Johns, Newport, Mon. 12s. 6d.

[3] *Man and Matter* (Essays Scientific and Christian). F. Sherwood Taylor. Chapman & Hall, London. 15s.

[4] *The Origin of Life* (The Case for and against Evolution). The Most Rev. M. Sheehan, D.D. Edited by Rev. Michael J. Troy, C.S.Sp., M.A. (1952). M. H. Gill & Son, Ltd., Dublin. 1s.

starfish, of ten million years ago. We can guess and we can gamble, as we do upon the margins of a " crossword "—but we shall never be sure of the thing until we have taken the first step towards fossildom ourselves.

The simile of the Crossword is not unjustified. As in that kind of puzzle we can build logical constructions from the hints the fossils give us, constructions that fit so well together that we are morally sure of their correctness. But, as in those puzzles too, we come up suddenly against a beginning or a middle, an end even, that is for us arbitrary, and therefore strictly unknowable. We can postulate Continuity or Catastrophe or Creation—we know the word begins with C—but only God can tell us which word we ought to choose. There is (I sometimes think) something after all to be said for the view of that Tübingen Lutheran who maintained, against Stensen, that the fossils were put in to make it harder. What fun a modern Pangloss could have in demonstrating that some of them had a Sufficient Reason in providing University jobs for earnest atheists.

It is the element of uncertainty that is so entertaining here. I use the word " entertaining " deliberately. At a time when so many biologists are anxious to apologize for even appearing to suggest that our science is anything but complicated physics ; at a time when they are so anxious to jump with the quantum and be steered by cybernetics : at such a time it *is* entertaining to see the troubled look following an assertion that possibly the *Deszendenzlehre* may contain a set of irresoluble uncertainties, just like fundamental physics. These uncertainties proceed from—or are implied by—the more certain knowledge we have of the incinerative events of the presumptive earliest days of Life ; here the paleontologist has to extrapolate by constructing a myth—for that is what an honest anthropologist would call it. Other uncertainties, the presence or absence of comparental linkage between the great phyla (Vertebrates, Anthropoids, etc.), demand myths of interpolation : but myths they are and myths they remain. Embryology, so often invoked, is no real help. The more we get to know about the part played by supposedly " ancestral " organs in the economy of development, the less accordingly may we propose such organs as *independent* proofs of branching from a common stock. This is the lesson taught by modern axiomatics, a science paid much lip-service by Anglo-American biologists. We have, it seems, to base our hopes of a detailed knowledge of the secular history of living things upon milord Russell's foundations of unyielding despair.

There is, of course, an alternative. We may assert positively that human reason can illumine places dark to the sense. To accept this, and to build upon it, is to begin a process that leads to metaphysics, to the doctrine of a spiritual soul, and to the doctrine of a transcendent Creator. This, however, is not Science ; for Science proceeds from the sensible

and returns to it. A thoroughgoing theory of evolution, be it theistic or atheistic, is metaphysical not scientific, because of the necessary uncertainties in the historical data. It cannot, therefore, be interesting except to specialists, for only specialists can discuss it properly. The ordinary man " exposed " to the doctrine of evolution, or to a discussion of it, is not really interested in it except insofar as it bears upon his notions of God and the Soul. He accepts evolution (usually) because he feels, or has been taught, that these notions are untenable. " Verdict first, trial afterwards " is as much his motto as that of the King of Hearts. Herein he is not dishonest, only muddled—and the same is true of all too many opponents of the doctrine. Too often these also have not grasped the full implications of the principle of uncertainty, and so they try to prove too much on the opposite side.

This brings us to our books. Dr. Fothergill's *Historical Aspects of Organic Evolution* is a work long wanted and well done. Documented by well over 750 references to original sources, it sweeps over more than two thousand years of biological thought. It brings together in a readable and compact form many indeed of those chronological details and *ipsissima verba* that one wants to have at hand for check or information. Like a good historian, Dr. Fothergill has not hesitated to put clarity before a slavish adherence to his calendar. He has arranged his chapters so that they show the evolution of evolutionism, particularly from 1790 onwards. As one would expect from his own special studies, he gives a special prominence to the effect of genetical hypotheses and experiment upon the course of modern evolutionary speculation. His account of those hypotheses, of the laws that suggest them, and of the theories based upon them is adequate in the text, and is supplemented by more exact accounts in his appendices. His book is a genuine piece of scholarship and should be placed in the library of anyone who would take it on himself (or herself) to write at large upon its topics. Two adverse—but not damaging—criticisms must be made. The author has erred by seeming to stress his own theological orthodoxy, an impression confirmed rather than diminished by the laudatory foreword of Professor Heslop Harrison. A book of this kind should avoid any attempt at apologetics, for that is a different branch of writing. Secondly, the author has let his own opinion upon the nature of the evolutionary process obtrude—or seem to obtrude—overmuch in what he clearly intended to be a conspectus of the development of informed opinion about an admittedly controversial subject; controversial, that is, as between those who admit the principle but differ upon the mechanism of the presumptive process. It may be remarked that the evidence he cites from Kammerer (pp. 256–8) needs to be re-examined while there is still time. Just before the late War there was a very strong rumour among the supposedly informed that Kammerer's technical assistants had played tricks upon him, and that he did not discover this

until long after his work had been published. The story may well be false, but those in a position to investigate should do so. Kammerer, as Dr. Fothergill points out, was a Lamarckian not a Darwinian.

This book is particularly interesting for its accurate judgment on the present state of neo-Mendelian genetics. The Lysenko affair has bred an understandable distrust of Russian pronouncements on the whole subject of heredity. Nevertheless, J. B. S. Haldane—who in the providence of God is occasionally on the side of the angels, as in the matter of eugenics—is not the only one on this side of the Soviet imperium who has felt that the gene-hypothesis can be overworked as an explanation of biological regularity and variation. Mendel's own conclusions were strictly mathematical; and in this he was more modern than the bulk of his nominal disciples. The senior student should compare the last part of Dr. Fothergill's book with such another as, say, Waddington's *Introduction to Modern Genetics.*

So much for the Scholar. Now we come to the Enthusiast. It must have been the "enthusiasticks" who turned Dryden's footsteps towards the Church. There is a danger that some Catholic enthusiasts of to-day may have an opposite effect upon many of the Fold. The thing seems to be correlated with the English tongue; Britain is not the only land afflicted. Mrs. Vera Barclay is in the full tradition, and her *Challenge to the Darwinians* is a seventeenth-century broadside, *mutatis mutandis.* Her motives are understandable, even laudable. Moved to wrath by those who teach Darwinism as gospel to children, she wrote an earlier robust and timely protest. Now she has come out with a special fervour not only against evolutionists in general, but against Catholic evolutionists in particular; the enemies within the gates. I read a laudatory review of her book in an Irish periodical some months ago, and from it I concluded that her book was just what I have found it to be. It is all very splendid—like Vinegar Hill; and (like Vinegar Hill) it is also very tragic. It is tragic because it is comical without intended humour. All is grist to Mrs. Barclay's mill. All is food for her intellectual stomach—including The Vital Importance of Honest Bread (p. 233). She goes for everybody with everything—Minerva was a pacifist beside her. The *Challenge* reminds me of a music-hall domestic row with an obligato by Scriabin. As an Awful Example of What Not to Do and How Not to Do It, it should be bought and read and re-read by every would-be polemicist.

Mrs. Barclay has my sympathy; but for that I should not be so hard upon her. Her goulash has much good meat in it but is spoiled by too much paprika, by more than the ritual pinch of caraway, and by overmuch trimmings improper to the dish. She is well-read in her subject, and can comment informatively upon matter that does not raise her blood-pressure: as, for example, in her neat summary of the review of Agnes Arber's *Natural Philosophy of Plant Form.* But does she (I wonder)

know the real views of many whom she subpoenas to her witness-box? She quotes Professor Wood-Jones upon Morphology with evident approval (p. 232). Has she heard him get up at a meeting of the Anatomical Society and declare that an opinion on a morphological topic just uttered could not be true because it ran counter to somebody-or-other's law of the Irreversibility of Evolution? Does she realise that the paragraph she has quoted was written to urge anatomists to return to the true path of evolutionary faith? Or is she—like your true enthusiast—a mere text-slinger, wrenching the verse from its scriptural context?

Challenge to the Darwinians is not a challenge to the Darwinians. It is a challenge to all evolutionists, Darwinians or not, and a war on a second front as well—a challenge to atheists, agnostics, and everyone who holds the views that Mrs. Barclay thinks he does. She attaches a special weight to the opinions of Louis Vialleton. He is her Cavalry Arm, and she looses him upon the foe in the penultimate stage of her main battle. Yet she misses the whole point of her chief citation of him (p. 129), namely, that he was concerned to choose between one type of evolutionary mechanism and another. One of these (he said) proceeds from changes in the ovum, the other from " a process of phylogenic development " (whatever that may mean!). She refuses explicitly to discuss the views of the late Fr. Sertillanges, O.P. (amongst certain Frenchmen) on the grounds that she is concerned only with writers " explicitly *pro* and *con* evolution " (*sic*, p. 105). Now Fr. Sertillanges was decidedly *pro* evolution, and carried his opinions to what some of us would regard as a morally dangerous limit.

The objection to Mrs. Barclay's book is not its end but its means. She has a right to shape her writings as she pleases : but either she failed to submit her draft to some critical, informed friend, or she refused to be guided by that friend's advice. As it stands *Challenge to the Darwinians* is a gift of ammunition to the enemy.

All that Mrs. Barclay set out to do in 286 pages has been done by Dr. F. Sherwood Taylor in twelve. The fifth of his set of essays, *Man and Matter*, is on Evolution and Religion. The whole affair is examined and judged clearly, logically, and in language that any educated layman can understand. Two quotations may be given. Talking about the evidence for evolution he says : " It is impossible for anyone who has not seen the actual remains and examined the anatomy of animals with a biologist's eye to make a decision as to its cogency " (p. 88). And towards the end he remarks : " So let us keep our eyes on the actual evidence and try not to be influenced by the host of popular writings which treat the evolution of life, consciousness and reason as established facts and matters of common knowledge " (p. 94).

There are thirteen essays in Dr. Taylor's book. All are worth reading, not only for what they say but also for how it is said. This is what one

would expect from so skilful and practised a vulgarizer of science as he is. He has known the desert of the soul, and for that he is all the better a model for those who would act as scientific shepherds to the Christian fold. During the last war the English enthusiasts were largely pacifist. Dr. Taylor is no enthusiast—and the last sentence of his book runs thus: "To-day the City of God is beleaguered and the obligation to defend it is absolute."

The last book, *The Origin of Life*, is the saddest to review. It is an edited publication of two chapters from the late Archbishop Sheehan's *Apologetics and Catholic Doctrine*; and it is stated that it has been published because of many requests. The requests should have been refused. Instead of this book, one based upon the original, re-arranged as to its matter, re-worded and brought up to date in its notes, should have been substituted. Further, the manuscript so blocked out should have been submitted to some Catholic anthropologist for criticism. This last may have been done, but the book bears no signs of it. Apologetic cosmology written by clergymen is a much graver adventure than the same thing written by laymen—not essentially, of course, but accidently. This opusculum bears the Permissu Superiorum, the Nihil Obstat, and the Imprimi Potest. For that very reason as much care should have been taken in its wording as would have been taken in the preparation of some work intended for a seminary. For example, we are told (p. 14, Sect. 1): "We listen to the astronomer because he ascribes [certain things] to the law of gravitation and other well-known and unquestioned physical laws which, he justifiably asserts, must have been working in the past as they are working to-day. But we do not listen to the evolutionist, because so far he has failed to discover any true and verifiable law of development; had he succeeded, the animated controversy as to the causes of evolution would be at an end." This is dangerous doctrine. It is to sow confusion in the reader's mind between the truth of an event and our knowledge of the causes of an event. Since Dr. Sheehan's youth much has happened in physics. Were the reader of this booklet to judge assertions in physical science by the criterion implied by the last part of the sentence quoted, the result would be a complete scepticism, a reversion to nominalism, that it is undoubtedly far from the intention of the reverend editor to encourage. This is but one example of well-meant but loosely-worded argument that might have been improved.

The failure to bring the notes up-to-date is, perhaps, less excusable. Far too many of these notes are based on second-hand authorities. For example, Huxley and Wells are not primary sources for statements upon fossil man. Granted that the intention of the original author was to refute statements made by them (in books not likely to reach the bulk of those for whom the *Apologetics* was intended), yet the notes should have

referred to some reputable textbook of physical anthropology. "Java Man" has since been found again, in better form than the first dubious skull-cap. "Pekin Man" is known from a greater number of remains than "two well-preserved skull-caps and three molar teeth" (note 14, p. 33). The complete set of records, photographs and drawings of the very impressive mass of *Pekinensis* lies before me as I write, thanks to the generosity of the former Chinese government. Again, the note 18 (p. 34) on the Rev. Dr. Messenger's speculations is, shall we say, tendentious. To say that biologists know nothing of the origin of any highly developed mammal by asexual means is an ambiguous statement. Rabbits were being produced parthenogenetically in the laboratory before the war—admittedly in very small numbers. Monozygotic twins (or such more elaborate cases as the Dionne quintuplets) raise interesting problems that cannot be touched on here: but the essential facts about this kind of thing have long been known, and they call for as much circumspection in discussions by the theologian as does the supposed occurrence of evolution by the biologist. None of this invalidates the main argument of the book, of course. Nevertheless, those of us who have actually served in the apologetic "front-line" know how damaging such inaccuracies can be. Let us not forget that the Jesuit observatories were the *preambula fidei* for many Chinese savants.

Fr. Troy has made a preface from certain relevant passages of *Humani Generis*. They include an injunction by the Holy Father that there shall be "discussion between experts on both sides." If we assume the Roman custom, this implies a certain two-sided courtesy. Now it is not certain for whom this new edition is intended. If it be intended for adolescents, or the general laity, then the form of many of the notes will be incomprehensible to them. If it be intended also for biologists who are also Catholics, then the rather patronizing remarks about Catholic biologists on page 25 (Sect. 3), are offensive to the loyalty of those who are charged with the responsibility of forming opinions within their proper sphere. They would, perhaps, be better erased and replaced by some such statement as this: "The Church imposes no restriction upon Catholic biologists save that imposed by physical science itself, *viz.*, that they should not confound guesses and probabilities with absolute demonstrations. Insofar as they respect these standards, which are theirs as well as Hers, She blesses their work, and welcomes all truths they may discover by diligent observation, careful reflection and ethical means of experiment." The last phrase has been introduced to meet the moral crisis which became acute during the Nazi regime in Europe, although it had not been unknown beforehand upon the Continent. There is still, I fear, a suspicion in Ireland that scientists are dangerous fellows—even if they go to Mass!

M. A. MacConaill

THE O'CONOR MANUSCRIPTS IN THE STOWE ASHBURNHAM COLLECTION

BY CATHERINE A. SHEEHAN

WHEN Eugene O'Curry was preparing his *Lectures on the Manuscript Materials of Ancient Irish History*, he was denied access to the Irish manuscripts in the Stowe Library by Lord Ashburnham, who had purchased the library from the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos. John O'Donovan had fared no better when he was preparing his edition of the *Annals of the Four Masters*. The copy in the Stowe Library was the autographed edition, which had remained in the O'Gara family since it had been presented to their patron, Fergal O'Gara, by the Four Masters until it was given by the O'Gara family to their kinsman, Charles O'Conor of Belanagare. Perhaps for the first time in its existence it was not available to Irish scholars when John O'Donovan was preparing his edition.

Dr. O'Conor stated in his notes that " the late Denis O'Conor presented it [the *Annals*] to the late Marquess of Buckingham, by a letter in his own hand, as a token of his high consideration, and gratitude for the attentions shewn to Mr. O'Conor during his Lieutenancy in Ireland, and his personal regard for Lord Nugent."

Concerning the O'Conor manuscripts O'Curry says that his Grace of Buckingham had got possession of them by accident and that the late Mathew O'Conor[1] of Dublin was " the true hereditary owner." In another place he refers to the manuscripts as having been only loaned to the Stowe Library.[2]

O'Curry was not the first to say that the O'Conor manuscripts did not rightfully belong to the Marquis of Buckingham. When Dr. Charles O'Conor was still librarian at Stowe, he wrote to Owen O'Conor that his enemies were circulating the report that he and his brothers were at swords' points because he had taken the O'Conor manuscripts to Stowe and had given them to the Marquis of Buckingham " for a valuable consideration." In another letter written some years later he said that he was being accused by Dr. Milne in print and by Charles Butler in conversation of having purloined the manuscripts.

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[1] Mathew O'Conor was the grandson of Charles O'Conor of Belanagare and a brother of Dr. Charles O'Conor. He was a lawyer and a historian. For details of the O'Conor genealogy see Rt. Hon. Charles Owen O'Conor's, *The O'Conors of Connaught : an Historical Memoir* (Dublin, 1891).

[2] Many of the letters from which I shall quote are in the O'Conor Don Collection. Clonalis, Castlerea, County Roscommon. In subsequent footnotes I shall refer to the collection as O'C D.

These reports are not literally true, but they indicate that there was much more to the transaction than Dr. O'Conor's notation in the *Bibliotheca Ms. Stowensis* indicates; and, since the account of that transaction is concerned with a great collection of Irish literature and begins with the belated recognition of Charles O'Conor of Belanagare by the Irish government in the person of its viceroy, the Marquis of Buckingham, it has a place in the history of Irish literature.

When the Marquis of Buckingham came to Ireland as Lord Lieutenant in 1787, Charles O'Conor was engaged in research for what was to have been his third history of Ireland. He was old and ill, and the work which he had undertaken was a severe strain on his failing strength. Colonel Charles Vallancey, O'Conor's friend and admirer and an enthusiastic propagandist for the cause of Irish scholarship, had been endeavouring for some time to obtain a pension for O'Conor to help to defray the cost of the work and provide clerical assistance. He found the new viceroy already an admirer of Charles O'Conor and had no difficulty in obtaining his promise to grant the desired pension. In a letter, written immediately after his successful interview, Vallancey informed O'Conor of the impending honor.

> The Marquis . . . assured me no one was more willing to encourage men of letters, and the good repute of my friend [O'Conor] urged him to assure me, he was ready to comply with cheerfulness to any reasonable proposal I should make. Then my Lord give him instantly a pension of one hundred pounds per annum—You may this night assure your friend, that if he will secure to you or the Irish Academy, in case of death, etc. his papers, that I will settle the pension on him without delay—advise him to pack them up and come to Town, as soon as convenient, and I shall be glad to confirm with my own lips what I have said.[1]

Vallancey added that he had no doubt that the pension would be continued in O'Conor's family after Charles O'Conor's death, but subsequent events were to prove him unduly optimistic on this point.

In his reply O'Conor thanked Vallancey and expressed his willingness to comply with the conditions stipulated by the viceroy. There is one passage which deserves quotation.

> To merit his Excellency's patronage would be to do some justice to your partiality. This species of merit derived from intellectual abilities would be superior under good direction to the Advantages of power and fortune, such as my Ancestors were formerly possessed of, in this western province.[2]

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[1] Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, Stowe Collection, O'Conor Papers. Letter from Charles Vallancey to Charles O'Conor of Belanagare, 28 February 1788.

[2] O'C D. Letter from Charles O'Conor of Belanagare to Charles Vallance 27 March 1788.

Vallancey also wrote to O'Conor's grandson and namesake, the future librarian of Stowe, who was at that time a theological student at Rome, to tell him of the honour which had come to his grandfather. He repeated his expectations that the pension would be continued in the family; and, although he did not say so, it is reasonable to assume that he hoped the younger Charles would be his grandfather's successor. There was much to justify this hope, for this young man was an excellent student and was at this time acting as an agent for the Royal Irish Academy in Italy. He was especially close to his grandfather, who also hoped and believed that he would carry on his work. O'Conor was keenly interested in his grandson's education and had some time before announced his intention of leaving him his library.[1]

In the spring of 1789 the Rev. Charles O'Conor was appointed to the parish of Castlerea by his kinsman, the O'Conor Don. He delayed his return, however, until 1791. His prolonged stay in Italy seriously offended his father, and from that time there was an ever-widening breach between them.

On July 1, 1791 Charles O'Conor of Belanagare died. The pension, which had come too late, was not continued in the family; but in 1798 the Marquis of Buckingham showed his continuing regard for the O'Conor family and his desire to serve the cause of Irish scholarship by inviting the Rev. Charles O'Conor to come to Stowe as chaplain to the Marchioness of Buckingham and librarian for the library he was planning to collect. It seems to have been understood from the beginning that Dr. O'Conor would have time to carry on his work in Irish history, for in a letter to his sister immediately after his arrival at Stowe he referred to the Irish history that he was to write.

The invitation must have been especially welcome to Dr. O'Conor, who had been far from happy at Castlerea. In addition to the friction between him and his father and the irritations he encountered in his work, he must have been disappointed in the outcome of his writing; for in 1796 the first volume of his *Memoir of Charles O'Conor of Belanagare* was published and promptly suppressed.

The ill-feeling between him and his father had been aggravated during these years by his father's refusal to release to him the books which his grandfather had left him.

The confidence expressed in his scholarship, coming soon after the suppression of his book, and the opportunity to escape from the rigours

[1] In a letter to Charles O'Conor of Belanagare dated 30 September 1786 (O'C D), the younger Charles thanks him for the library he intends to leave him but suggests that it should be left to the O'Conor family at Belanagare and describes in some detail the conditions by which it should be protected. This is especially interesting in view of his subsequent conduct.

On 29 October 1786 (O'C D), Charles O'Conor wrote to his grandson Charles to say that he had nothing almost to will but his books and that, if he died while the younger Charles was in Rome, the books would be kept for him by his brother Owen.

of his parish work to a position which offered him the means and the leisure to pursue his scholarly interests must have been very gratifying. In 1799 he obtained a leave of absence from his parish at Castlerea and went to Stowe to begin what was to become his life work. He took with him books and papers belonging to the O'Conor family, but oddly enough either all or part of the library left him by his grandfather remained at Belanagare.

Denis O'Conor did not write to the Marquis of Buckingham to express his gratification at the honor conferred upon his son until after Dr. O'Conor had arrived at Stowe and had written to his sister, urging that his father write to Lord Buckingham. Dr. O'Conor wrote that he had told the Marquis of Buckingham that his father's delay in writing was due to his wounded hand. He referred to the Irish history he was to write, and he directed his father to say " that for this purpose I have taken with me all the books and papers which could be found in the family relating to Irish history—and that the whole family derive more enjoyment from his countenancing such a work than from any that could be derived from the possession of such materials. With regard to the letter I have it cannot be reconciled with the paper I signed the day I left Belanagare binding me under a penalty of £100 to restore the 4 Masters—My Father has that paper and a copy of the letter."

He concluded by urging his father to seek Dr. Hugh McDermot's aid in writing this letter.

Denis O'Conor wrote the letter, in which, according to Dr. McDermot, he gave the books and papers which his son had taken to Stowe to the Marquis of Buckingham. It is undoubtedly to this letter that Dr. O'Conor refers in his note under the *Annals of the Four Masters*, and later in his letters to his brother Owen in which he defends himself against the charge that he " had stolen his grandfather's papers and given them to the Marquis of Buckingham for a valuable consideration."

It must be pointed out in justice to Denis O'Conor that he had not intended to give the books to the Stowe Library. His exaction of the letter and bond from his son to insure the safe return of the papers he was taking is ample proof of this. Dr. O'Conor had placed him in a position where he was virtually compelled to make this gift or seem ungenerous to the man who had honored his father. His subsequent actions prove conclusively how deeply he resented his son's conduct in this matter.

Denis O'Conor died on August 8, 1804, and five days later Hugh McDermot wrote to Dr. O'Conor to tell him of the provisions of his father's will. He pointed out that Owen O'Conor had Belanagare, which was worth £40,000, and that Mathew's legacy was worth £20,000; but that Dr. O'Conor had been given only £100 and that Denis O'Conor had justified his actions by saying that the books which Dr. O'Conor had carried to Stowe were worth £600 and were " an adequate child's portion."

McDermot referred to Denis O'Conor's letter to Lord Buckingham in which he had given to that nobleman the books which he now chose to consider Dr. O'Conor's share of his estate.

McDermot also referred to the books which his grandfather had left Dr. O'Conor and which his father had never released to him. He advised Dr. O'Conor to consult Lord Buckingham and suggested that he might appeal to his father's marriage articles for his share of his estate.

There are two versions of the letter which Dr. O'Conor wrote in reply. What must have been the first draft is in the Stowe Collection at the Henry E. Huntington Library. This letter bears corrections and interpolations in the hand of the Marquis of Buckingham. Some of these interpolations are especially interesting because they indicate Lord Buckingham's awareness of the controversy within the O'Conor family concerning the books and manuscripts.

Where Dr. O'Conor had written that he had shown the letter [from McDermot] to Lord Buckingham, that gentleman had added " which he could not but read with much indignation."

To Dr. O'Conor's statement that the allegation concerning the books was false and unworthy of his father, Lord Buckingham interpolated " and so utterly unreconcilable with the letter that was sent his L'p."

There are several other emendations, all of which were embodied in the final draft of the letter sent to McDermot.

There are two more letters from Hugh McDermot containing news of the proceedings at Belanagare and advice to Dr. O'Conor as to how he should proceed. McDermot indicated his willingness to act for Dr. O'Conor and to testify in his behalf. He wrote that Dr. O'Conor's mother was supporting his claim to the books left him by his grandfather and that he had obtained and forwarded the excerpt of his father's marriage articles pertaining to the provisions for younger children, but that he was unable to obtain a copy of their grandfather's will.

Despite his cousin's efforts and the support of the Marquis of Buckingham, Dr. O'Conor failed to obtain a larger portion of his father's estate. His father's will long remained a source of bitterness to him. He never seems to have considered that Denis O'Conor had had any reason to resent his having virtually compelled him to give the books to the Marquis of Buckingham. He never admitted that the gift had not been freely made.

Bitterly as he resented his father's treatment, he evidently learned nothing from this experience, for shortly afterwards he used much the same method to extort from Owen O'Conor the gift of a valuable Irish Herbal for the Stowe Library. When his first letter proved unsuccessful, he persisted until his brother complied with his request.

His increasing pre-occupation with the Stowe Library and with his writing is understandable. He may have honestly believed that his

family's books would be safer at Stowe and more surely preserved for future scholars. Subsequent events were to prove how near he came to being tragically wrong.

His life at Stowe was satisfying in many ways. All of the Grenville family were deeply attached to him. Lord Buckingham respected his character and admired his scholarship.

When there was a possibility that he might return to Ireland to become a bishop, Lord Buckingham in a letter to Owen O'Conor expressed his unwillingness to lose him and his admiration for his abilities and character. He wrote in part:

> In general and in ecclesiastical learning, there are few of any Church who are equal to him; those qualities added to the mildness and benevolence of his character would do credit to any situation in which he could be placed.[1]

No one could have been indifferent to such praise, and Dr. O'Conor could not have failed to value the unique opportunity he was being given to serve the cause of Irish scholarship.

Lord Buckingham's son, the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos, was equally appreciative and paid large sums of money for the publication of Dr. O'Conor's work. With publication came recognition and praise from the literary circles in London. Conscious as he was of his family's disappointment at his failure to return to Ireland to serve the Church there, he sought justification in his growing literary fame.

He wrote to Owen that Southey had assured the Duke of Buckingham that the *Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores Veteres* would be described in the next *Quarterly Review* as one of the most valuable works of the kind that had ever appeared. Then he added:

> So if I do not meet yr. views in my Ecclesiastical career . . . you must allow that in my literary career I have added considerably to the honour of our family.[2]

Other letters tell of the growth of the Stowe Library, of the preparation of the *Bibliotheca Ms. Stowensis*, and of the money that was being lavished on its printing. He wrote that it would be one of the rarest books in the world since only one hundred copies were being printed. One copy was to be presented to the family library at Belanagare as a mark of Lord Buckingham's great regard for the O'Conor family, he wrote, and the other copies were to be presented to the Royal families and the great libraries of Europe.

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[1] O'C D. Letter from the Marquis of Buckingham to Owen O'Conor, 7 September 1809.

[2] O'C D. Letter to Owen O'Conor, 21 March 1818. The first volume of *Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores Veteres* was published in 1814, Vol. ii in 1825 and Vols. iii and iv in 1826. The Stowe Catalogue was published in 1818. (See *DNB*, Vol. XIV, p. 857.)

In subsequent letters to Owen O'Conor he insisted that he must write a " well-considered " letter to Lord Buckingham, thanking him on behalf of the family for the catalogue. He directed Owen to write " of your brother's solicitude to preserve the most ancient and valuable Documents of the History of Your Country, now preserved at his [Lord Buckingham's] expense, from the ravages of time, and at his expense made known and brought to light from the obscurity in which they would otherwise have been consigned to oblivion."

His insistence that the documents now in the Stowe Library had been saved from oblivion has overtones which suggest that he was in reality trying to justify his conduct not only to his family but perhaps even more to himself. His frequent recurrence to his family's neglect of their documents may well have been prompted by feelings of guilt. Had he been entirely satisfied with his own part in the matter, he would scarcely have been so concerned to justify himself.

In his last years at Stowe he struggled in spite of failing health to complete his work. During these years he was increasingly preocccupied with Belanagare and his plans for its improvement, and with Owen's becoming the O'Conor Don.

During these years he was absorbed in making his will. He was still disturbed by his family's disappointment concerning his ecclesiastical career and by his father's will. He concluded one letter concerned with his own will as follows :

> None of my family can justly blame me for what I have done as I have had no child's portion but was thrown headlong into a Parish which I was most unqualified to govern, both in point of strength of body and mind, and equally if not more unqualified to exhort from it the means of subsistence. It is true that I was assigned to the Irish Mission. Well I have done more for that Mission by founding this Charity School than I could have by preaching in bad Irish . . . I could not much longer have borne the Sunday and holiday fasting and catechising until 2 o'clock.[1]

Shortly after he had written this letter, he must have received one from Mathew O'Conor. He had gone to Bath to try to regain his health and Mathew's letter must have reached him there. He wrote to tell Owen that Mathew had at last written but that he suspected his motives.

> He thinks I am near my end and means to lay claim to his Grandfather's Mss. If you see any such design, save him from the disgrace as well as the ruin of such a proceeding. Assure him most solemnly on my part on my sacredest oath that I saw in Lord

[1] O'C D. Letter to Owen O'Conor, 9 June 1823.

> Buckingham's possession the very original act of the donation of those Mss. in *his father's* hand, and that to put an end to all pretensions I shall upon oath before a notary public attest that the letter is genuine.[1]

Stowe had afforded Dr. O'Conor ideal conditions for the work he had undertaken, and the reception by the literary world must have been very gratifying. The praise lavished on his work by his contemporaries has been considerably qualified by later scholars. It is now conceded that he lacked the command of old Irish and the careful scholarship of Charles O'Conor of Belanagare.

From the evidence presented in these letters it is possible to make the following statements concerning the books and papers which Dr. O'Conor had carried to Stowe: (1) that Denis O'Conor's letter to the Marquis of Buckingham did establish Lord Buckingham's legal right to the books and manuscripts; (2) that Denis O'Conor had made the gift under compulsion and had resented his son's part in the matter; (3) that Dr. O'Conor's repeated efforts to justify his conduct with regard to the books indicate that the O'Conor family had remained unreconciled to the loss of the papers and that he himself may not have been able to avoid seeing how great was the discrepancy between law and justice.

Not too many years after Dr. O'Conor had concluded his work at Stowe and had come home to Belanagare to die, the Stowe library was sold; and, as Eugene O'Curry pointed out, the books which were a part of Ireland's heritage and had been so long preserved by one of Ireland's great families, were treated as mere chattels to be sold to the highest bidder.[2]

That these books were not available to the men who were making such distinguished contributions to Irish scholarship could not have pleased the O'Conor family and would surely have distressed Charles O'Conor of Belanagare, who would have rejoiced in their work.

Stowe had proved less secure than Clonalis, where the O'Conor Don Collections remain intact except for the books that were taken to Stowe. Fortunately these books were eventually returned to Ireland and to the Royal Irish Academy, which Charles O'Conor of Belanagare had helped to found.

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[1] O'C D. Letter to Owen O'Conor, 14 August 1823.

[2] O'Conor, Rev. Charles, S.J. "Origins of the Royal Irish Academy," STUDIES (September 1949), pp. 325–337.

REVIEWS

Philosophy and Religion

PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGION: The Impact of Modern Knowledge on Religion. By Fulton J. Sheen, Ph.D., D.D., Litt.D., LL.D., Auxiliary Bishop of New York. Dublin and London. Browne & Nolan Ltd.; Longmans, Green & Co. Pp. ix, 452. 25s.

It was Dr. Inge, I think, who passed the entertaining remark that American incursions into metaphysics are usually in the nature of raids. Within his universe of discourse, he was unquestionably right: metaphysics of the James–Dewey–Watson type could not but leave a student of Plotinus somewhat stunned.

But Dr. Inge, not having himself made more than a few supercilious sallies into the metaphysic of the Scholastic tradition, would naturally know nothing about those American philosophers who love and adorn it.

Of these, Bishop Fulton Sheen has been for a quarter of a century the most successful and the most prolific. He published his first book *God and Intelligence* in 1925. In it he gave to the public the dissertation he had presented to the University of Louvain when he became *Agregé de l'Institut Supérieur de Philosophie* there; and with it, he leapt immediately into the forefront of that band of writers, still small, but rapidly gaining influence, who were testing modern conceptions in the light of Thomism. By apostolic devotion and industry, he has followed it up with more than thirty books; and with a profusion of articles, lectures, sermons, broadcasts and television appearances that have made of him the outstanding Catholic personality in the United States, and one of the most renowned Catholic apologists of the English-speaking world.

At the same time, he was conducting, until recently, the department of philosophy in the Catholic University of America, and carrying out many arduous ecclesiastical commissions, preaching and lecturing engagements, in every part of the globe. Greater than all these achievements, and dearest to his heart, has been his work in the instruction of converts to the Faith. Amongst those whom he has prepared for reception into the Church are many notable figures of the contemporary American scene—Heywood Broun, Louis Budenz, Clare Booth Luce, and Fritz Kreisler.

It is an inevitable consequence of such vast and varied labours, as Mgr. Sheen would be the first to insist, that not all his writings are of equal value. Many of them are admittedly works of that *haute vulgarisation* which is so essential to the apostolate of the pen to-day, and which he performs with such admirable tone and timing. But, when he has had the leisure to write for the expert, as in *God and Intelligence* or *The Philosophy of Science*, he is so competent that one regrets that he has had to leave that field so often.

The book under review, *The Philosophy of Religion*, suffers, I think, from not belonging completely to either class of his work; but when we consider how laborious are the days that he lives, and what a vast canvas he has chosen to manipulate, we cannot but marvel at his achievement and repress any misgivings that we may feel that it is an amalgam of the scientific and the popular.

The book opens with an examination of the eighteenth century. It describes how the confident rationalism with which it began gradually degenerated into romantic lyricism from Rousseau to Schleiermacher, and sketches briefly the impact of romanticism on poetry, painting and music as well as on philosophy and religion. The rise of mechanism is then outlined, with its consequent agnosticism. There follows an account of the reaction against mechanism, amongst the theologians through traditionalism and fideism, amongst the philosophers through spiritualism, idealism and pragmatism. This in turn leads to a study, in the realm of philosophy, of modern irrationalism in Nietzsche, James and Bergson; in the realm of law,

of juridical positivism; and in the realm of theology, of the immanentism of Alexander, Whitehead, Jeans, and Eddington.

The second part of the book comprises two chapters aiming at establishing the transcendence and the immanence of God, and at expounding the Thomist position in terms intelligible to modern thinkers. (The Thomist *prima via*, the argument from motion, is, for instance, presented as the argument from evolution.)

Part Three, entitled " The Impact of the Sciences on Religion ", surveys the revolutionary changes in the science of physics from Newton to Heisenberg; then passes to a discussion of the science of comparative religion, and concludes with an enumeration and criticism of six philosophies of history, ranging from Plato to Karl Marx, from Marx to Oswald Spengler; and ends with a panegyric on the religious philosophy of the Greek dramatists.

The final chapter of the work, entitled " Man and Religion " scrutinises the liberal concept of the natural man, fundamentally good and infinitely perfectible; shows how this concept was forced to give way to the pessimistic view of the frustrated man, buffeted by war and evil, (Nietsche, Dostoievski, D. H. Lawrence, H. G. Wells, Soren Kirkegaard, Nicolas Berdyaev, Karl Barth, C. E. M. Joad are all laid under tribute); and ends by showing how superior to all these is the picture St. Thomas paints of man as a microcosm, a *minor mundus*, poised between the tensions of spirit and matter, tensions that can be released only by submission to the Infinite Subsistence, who is also Infinite Love.

A vast canvas indeed! It is so comprehensive that a reviewer can do little but indicate its colossal range and sweep. Criticism would be out of place in a notice of a book like this. It goes without saying that no artist could possibly be, in a work so oecumenical, equally competent in every detail of every stroke of his brush. But it would be a mistake to think that many inches of the canvas are carelessly roughed in. The references at the end of the book (there are nearly thirty pages of them), and the multitudinous quotations throughout its chapters, manifest the Protean comprehensiveness of the author's reading. (There are, inevitably, gaps: e.g., there is no mention of Butterfield on the philosophy of history from a Christian standpoint).

It is a commonplace that there are Thomists who are prepared to maintain that nobody has ever said anything about anything as well as St. Thomas. Mgr. Sheen is by no means of that wing: compared to the Thomists *strictioris observantiæ*, he would maintain that St. Thomas never wrote a wiser line than when he said *Opus philosophicum semper perfectibile.*

But he finds it difficult to resist the tendency to make a Thomist text here and there bear a wealth of relevance to modern theories which it simply does not, and in the nature of things, could not, possess.

On the whole, however, the book of this gifted disciple of St. Thomas is written with St. Thomas' own method and in pursuit of his example. For instance, the fine presentation of the argument from finality (pp. 171 sqq.) is in the best Thomist tradition of lucidity, and of seeking in contemporary thought illustrations of perennial principles. Similarly the pages on Heisenberg's Principle of Indeterminacy (pp. 213 sqq.) form both an excellent and readily intelligible exposition of the principle, and an enlightening commentary upon its alleged philosophical implications.

Mgr. Sheen, now Auxiliary Bishop of New York, has been sentenced, in the words of Cardinal Manning, to " pastoral servitude for life." It is scarcely to be expected that in the future we shall be able to enjoy as many works from his graceful and indefatigable pen as have refreshed and instructed us in the past. Nevertheless, so unremitting has been his toil, that we may hope that the miracle will persist, and that even in the more exalted and more harassed pattern of his new life, he may continue the valued contributions of the old.

A. H. Ryan

THE PHYSICAL PHENOMENA OF MYSTICISM. By Herbert Thurston, S.J. Edited by J. H. Crehan, S.J. London: Burns Oates. 1952. pp. viii, 419. 35s.

THIS book is a collection of articles written by Father Thurston between the years 1919 and 1938. They were published in *The Month*, *The Catholic Medical Guardian*, and *Studies*. To them is added a lecture which he gave to a medical audience on a case of the production of stigmata by suggestion in a hysterical patient by a Lutheran doctor in Germany. The articles treat of various extraordinary phenomena which are somewhat loosely but conveniently put under the general heading of physical phenomena of mysticism: levitation, stigmata, telekinesis of the Sacred Host, incendium amoris, the odour of sanctity, incorruption after death, seeing without eyes, living without food, and others. Most of these phenomena, or something very similar, are to be found in the records of the Society for Psychical Research, and have been observed in spiritualistic mediums, in people other than mystics, and sometimes in persons far removed from sanctity. One of Father Thurston's chief purposes is to show that, if we are in search of such marvels, far more numerous and more astounding examples are to be found in the lives of the Saints.

The physical phenomena in question have this in common, that they are clearly beyond the powers of physical nature as we know it, and many of them, if not all, seem to require the direct intervention either of diabolic or of divine power. But Father Thurston is not concerned in this book to solve the problems which these phenomena raise when they have been established as facts. His avowed aim is simply to show, by a careful sifting and weighing of evidence, that these extraordinary phenomena have actually taken place in numerous cases, especially in the lives of the Saints. In some of these cases, however, Father Thurston seems to give us to understand that, from the presence of certain signs and features, we can rigorously conclude that God has directly intervened in a marvellous manner as a testimony to the holiness of his servant.

In his investigations Father Thurston shows an admirable critical and scientific faculty joined to a masterly knowledge of his subject and of the principles governing the evaluation of human observation and testimony. The more one reads of this book the more one is convinced of the author's clear-sightedness and balanced judgment and of his deep and wide learning. In exactness of scientific and critical investigation, every chapter is an object lesson both to the agnostic, who is often ready to dismiss some well-attested facts as fraud, delusion, or pious fantasy, while accepting others on insufficient grounds, and to the pious but overenthusiastic Catholic who is eager to cry miracle at every phenomenon of a religious colouring which has the least appearance of the preternatural. The so-called rationalist who reads this book may well be surprised at how exacting the author is in analysing and weighing evidence, and the ordinary Catholic cannot fail to be edified by the prudence and wisdom so consistently displayed. Thus it is pointed out that cases of stigmatisation, for example, cannot be put into a simple two-fold classification of those that are caused by divine action and those that are due to deliberate fraud; there are also cases of persons who, in good faith and with no intention of deceit, have deluded themselves into believing that their self-inflicted stigmata had a supernatural cause, and it is fairly well established, also, that suggestion from the self or from another can in certain hysterical subjects be a sufficient cause of stigmatisation, though never, it seems, to the extent of open wounds such as found, for example, in the case of St. Francis of Assisi or of Gemma Galgani. Father Thurston is even of the opinion, and he adduces good reasons to support it, that the fact that some persons have been detected in deliberate fraud does not preclude the possibility that they were in the beginning favoured by God with genuine stigmata or other

marvellous charismata. Father Thurston not only describes the general signs which are commonly sufficient to expose cases of fraud or delusion, but he also shows how in some well-attested cases it is possible positively to exclude any such explanation by natural causes.

In all this field of marvellous and extraordinary phenomena, Father Thurston's sole aim, as he states, is to establish facts and incidentally to show by practical example the stringent and prudent methods of investigation which must be employed. Each case has to be examined on its own merits. And the proof from other sources of the genuine holiness of some Saint or servant of God is not sufficient warranty that reported miraculous phenomena in the case are objective facts, or, if they are, that they necessarily postulate divine intervention. The divine action can in some cases be established with certainty ; other cases, which to many of us might have seemed incontrovertible, receive from Father Thurston only the verdict of " not proven." He widens our understanding and teaches us more caution by showing, for example, how neurotic symptoms are not incompatible with great sanctity and can sometimes be a contributory cause of extraordinary phenomena in the lives of the Saints. Yet Father Thurston's critical mind and what might appear to some a reluctance to be convinced, do not prevent him, when the proper occasion arises, from recognising and reverencing in holy persons the divine favour which does show itself under the form of physical phenomena transcending the laws of nature. He also takes care to point out that these extraordinary physical phenomena are never taken by the Church, in processes of canonisation, as the principal proofs of sanctity, and that they are only allowed to lend support, when well attested and when excluding all suspicion of pathological influences, to the evidence of heroic virtue based on quite different facts. All in all, this book is exceptionally interesting as well as instructive.

DERMOT M. CASEY

CELTIC STUDIES

THE BOOK OF O'HARA. Leabhar Í Eadhra. Edited by Lambert McKenna, S.J. Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies. 1951. xxxii +458 pp. 15s.

READERS of *Studies* during the past quarter of a century are familiar with Father Lambert McKenna's work as an editor of bardic poetry. Not all of them, however, may be aware that his regular contributions to this journal are no more than a small fraction of the sum of his activity in that branch of Irish literature. Since 1919, when in *Dánta do chum Aonghus Fionn Ó Dálaigh* he edited the most considerable body of bardic verse up to then published, until the present time, he has continued with unflagging zeal to print and translate specimens of the religious and secular compositions of the hereditary *littérateurs* of medieval Ireland. This sustained devotion has resulted in a unique achievement : at the cost of immense labour, Father McKenna has made available to students a corpus of verse running into at least 50,000 lines. With the publication of his latest work, entitled *The Book of O'Hara,* that total is appreciably increased.

By what must be regarded as a special providence, the original vellum MS. of the Book of O'Hara has remained down to the present day in the possession of the descendants of the chieftain at whose behest its compilation was undertaken. This was Cormac, Ó hEaghra Buidhe, Lord of Luighne, a territory situated in the modern Co. Sligo. Of Cormac's life scarcely anything of human interest is known : in State Papers he is a name that is not writ large ; in the eulogies of the poets he is a shadowy figure cast in a superhuman mould ; in a portrait by an unknown miniaturist, a reproduction of which makes an appropriate frontispiece for the printed

edition of his Book, he is a bearded, hook-nosed, kind-faced Elizabethan gentleman of, perhaps, sixty. It is not certain when he became chief of Leyney. According to one authority, it was between 1581 and 1585, but Father McKenna inclines to put the date back to 1578 on the grounds that a Fiant of that year grants him the office of seneschal of 'Magherye Leynye alias O Harree Buye's country.' This, however, may only mean that his claim to the chieftaincy had the support of the Crown already during the lifetime of the reigning chief, Conn son of Ruaidhrí, who did not die until 1581. In any event, Cormac was to rule his people throughout the tragic period that culminated in the Battle of Kinsale and survive it, to be pardoned by James I in 1602 and die a natural death ten years later. This, then, is the man, as far as we may know him, to whom are addressed twenty-three of the thirty-eight poems which comprise the O'Hara *duanaire*. The remainder, with the exception of one in praise of an unidentified lady and a short composition referring to Cath Crionna, are conventional panegyrics of more obscure kinsmen of Cormac's, of whom some lived before his period and others were his contemporaries or descendants. Evidently the complete poem-book has not come down to us, for the editor (whose description of the MS. does not fully satisfy our curiosity) notes that some nineteen pages are missing from the middle of the volume. Happily Father McKenna has found the greater part of the MS. as it stands legible, and where it failed him he was fortunate in sometimes being able to fall back upon a copy made in 1826 by Mícheál Óg Ó Longáin.

The main portion of the *duanaire*, which is prefaced by some genealogical and biographical matter in prose, dates apparently from the last decade of the sixteenth century—very probably from 1597, as the editor suggests. It is the work of a single scribe, Tuathal Ó hUiginn, a scion of the celebrated bardic kindred whose lands were situated in the territory of Ó hEaghra Buidhe. As might be expected, a large proportion of the poems—more than half—are the work of members of that family. Most noteworthy amongst them is the well-known Tadhg Dall who is represented by half-a-dozen compositions, two of which, surviving only in the O'Hara MS., were not available to Dr. Knott when, thirty years ago, she prepared her monumental edition of the poet's work. Another contributor whose name is worthy of mention is the prolific Fearghal Óg Mac an Bhaird. Fearghal Óg, as the late Dr. Bergin wrote in *Studies*, March, 1919, 'is noted for his smooth and simple style', and two at least of the five poems which he here addresses to Ó hEaghra Buidhe exemplify the truth of that statement. Both are short, urbane pieces which in their lightness of touch contrast pleasantly with the longer, more studied eulogies where too often the heavy hand of rhetoric is too much in evidence and the verse, for the modern reader at all events, neither sings nor soars.

Like the Book of Magauran but to a lesser extent, Father McKenna's edition of the O'Hara MS. is intended as a diplomatic copy of the original. In the case of the former, the editorial treatment was justified by the age and interest of the MS., and the attendant inconvenience of having to relegate textual corrections to footnotes was avoided by providing a normalized text. It is doubtful, however, whether in the case of the later poem-book much is gained by adopting the method of printing an exact transcript of the text, with the addition of marks of lenition, length and punctuation, and piling necessary emendations at the foot of the pages, rather than by providing a judiciously corrected text accompanied by a liberal selection of significant MS. readings. But for the non-specialist a more important consideration is the extent to which he may be able, without undue effort, to understand the poems. He can be assured that Father McKenna's full translation, notes and selective vocabulary will be of great assistance to him. In a number of places, the more experienced reader may doubt the aptness of the English rendering or, perhaps,

reject it in favour of a different interpretation. To take a single example, on p. 125, qt. 47, the translation reads : ' On Magh Tuireadh . . . . . Lugh by his gallantry defeated the Lochlannaigh, driving them far from him . . . . . '. The final phrase here renders *cian uadh* which means rather ' long ago ', like its present-day equivalent and relative *fadó*. But reference to matters of this nature is beyond the scope of a general review, and in any case such imperfections must be forgiven an editor who, more than any other, has laboured to make the poets of the Early Modern period known to us in their works. In the past Celtic Studies have owed much to the devotion of the *Privatgelehrter*, and it is pleasant to think that, in these days of professionalism, one such scholar continues to make important contributions to our knowledge of bardic poetry.

R. A. Breatnach

Economics and Politics

MONEY AND EMPLOYMENT IN IRELAND. By Laurence Hooper. Dublin : C. J. Fallon, Ltd. 10s. 6d.

The title of Mr. Hooper's book *Money and Employment in Ireland* is somewhat misleading. One expects a study of constructive methods for using the nation's savings to give productive employment on the development of its resources. But one finds that Mr. Hooper is concerned mainly, although not exclusively, with public works as a means of reducing unemployment. He seeks to apply to Irish conditions some of the theories of the late Lord Keynes, whose economic doctrines have been widely acclaimed if not universally accepted ; but he makes little effort in his treatment of a difficult theoretical analysis to capture any of the brilliance of his master's expository style. He deals also with certain related subjects often in a manner that is stimulating and challenging. Indeed, some readers will regard as the most impressive in the book the sections on the Irish economy generally and on distinctive features of its financial and banking systems.

Mr. Hooper examines in very great detail the effects of State borrowing from the commercial banks of sufficient money to employ directly or indirectly on public works 50,000 persons at wages of £4 a week. But a considerable number of the persons employed at any time would probably be unable or unwilling to accept the kind of work that Mr. Hooper has in mind. That, of course, does not entitle one to question his figure of 50,000, for Irish unemployment statistics, no matter how accurate, tend to mislead, because workers frequently emigrate rather than remain idle at home. What may be questioned, however, is Mr. Hooper's approach to the problem of finding permanent employment for 50,000 persons.

Some of the projects in his suggested investment programme are admirable, but he is excessively preoccupied with public works and accords them an inordinately high place in his order of precedence. The Keynes theories were devised primarily for an industrial economy subject to severe cyclical fluctuations in employment and in demand for the goods which it had the capacity to produce. The trouble with the Irish economy is not that it is subject to recurring cyclical fluctuations of economic activity, but that it maintains stability at an extremely low level. When demand becomes more effective in Ireland it often tends to induce increases in imports rather than to increase domestic productive capacity to the extent that one would wish. Employment in Ireland should not be desired irrespective of what it produces. If money is to be spent it should be wisely spent. Ireland's agricultural resources, the country's main source of wealth, are comparatively undeveloped because, for generations, there has been insufficient investment of capital in the land. If money is to be spent on a large scale the agricultural industry should come first. But Mr. Hooper places public works at the top of his list of projects and pushes

into the background agriculture, although it is our main industry. If properly developed by large-scale investment of capital, it would enhance enormously the productive output of the economy as a whole. Its development would extend the number of secondary industries based on it and would enable us by increasing exports to maintain equilibrium in the Balance of Payments at a high level, which above all else should be the foremost aim of Irish economic policy.

Mr. Hooper does, indeed, say that there is no need for conflict in the development of agriculture and manufacturing industry. But the urgent need for an early and sustained increase in the productivity of the Irish economy should have impelled him to tilt the balance more towards agriculture in the course of his investigation. If Government expenditure on a large scale for the maintenance of employment is to be undertaken, there must be an order of priority in the projects selected.

Projects which add to our productive national capital should take precedence over all others. The others may be desirable as well, but later : for no less than rural electrification houses and roads can increase productivity in the long run. But Mr. Hooper's master, Lord Keynes, always kept his eye on the short run, since, as he said himself, in the long run we are all dead.

Various hypothetical cases involving Government expenditure on public works are examined at great length. Some of the examination is interesting but the approach is excessively academic to have practical value. In recent years a good amount of Government expenditure has been undertaken in Ireland on precisely this kind of public works. Last year, for instance, direct Exchequer expenditure on the capital programme amounted to £31 millions compared with £2 millions in 1938–39 ; a Keynesian evaluation of the effects of that expenditure would have been most valuable.

Mr. Hooper is, of course, fully aware that his proposals for State expenditure on public works would have an important bearing on the Balance of Payments, but it is difficult to accept his conclusions as to what the actual effect would be. He maintains that the loss of sterling assets resulting from such Government expenditure would exactly equal the net State expenditure incurred. This view seems untenable, not, indeed, because there is any objection to external disinvestment—provided, of course, that it is undertaken for the proper purpose—but because such evidence as there is suggests that Government capital expenditure would induce imports much in excess of the actual initial expenditure. Indeed, Keynesian theory itself might well be invoked to justify the view that no identity should be expected between the amount of Government expenditure and the amount of foreign disinvestment it induces.

There are other points of theory on which Mr. Hooper's treatment can be questioned and there is little doubt that his book would have carried more conviction if he had begun by testing the fundamental Keynesian assumptions against the facts of the Irish economic system as revealed in the Finance Accounts, Tables of National Income and Expenditure and Balance of Payments accounts. It would have been helpful, too, if he had fitted the Keynesian definitions and equations more clearly into Irish categories.

Readers who penetrate the formidable approaches to his investigation will find in Mr. Hooper's book much of interest and much that will stimulate lively controversy. Students of Irish economics will find the latter part of his work useful, in particular his examination of the monetary consequences of methods other than public works for creating employment. His chapter on the rate of interest is, perhaps, the most original in the book. Altogether, Mr. Hooper's contribution to economic discussion will suggest some of the right questions although not everyone will agree with his answers.

PATRICK LYNCH

CATHOLIC POLITICAL THOUGHT (1789–1848). By Béla Menczer. London: Burns Oates. pp. 205 18s.

THE nineteenth century, like the present one, was prolific in the development of Catholic thought on social questions which were being rendered so acute by the industrialisation and consequent urbanisation of society. The purpose of this book is to draw our attention to the fact that in the first half of the last century there existed also a group of Catholic political thinkers whose writings are in England but little known, or at least known only slightly in comparison with the Liberal School of Catholic thinkers among whom the most famous name is that of Montalembert.

After an introduction whose length is somewhat disproportionate to the size of the book, the author gives selections illustrative of their thought from the writings of nine thinkers who lived between 1753 and 1878 prefaced in each case by a few pages of biographical or historical information. The thinkers chosen include four Frenchmen, two Germans, two Spaniards and a Savoyard. Only one is an ecclesiastic. The eighteenth century in which six of these authors were born may be called the " French century," though the primacy of France among the nations began in the seventeenth and France remained the leading Continental power till the nineteenth century was more than half-way through. French was the speech of polite society. Europe's princes were brought up on Fénelon's *Télémaque*, " the taste of her educated classes was formed on La Fontaine . . . cathedral pulpits echoed the eloquence of Bossuet and Bourdaloue." Letter-writers showed the influence of Madame de Sévigné . . . " France epitomised thought, speech and style . . . . " Foreign thinkers produced their best work on French issues and foreigners came to write in French—a ' unique case of the extension of a civilisation ' unparalleled since Philo and Marcus Aurelius wrote in Greek in preference to their native tongues. " We must cast our imagination back to this French-speaking Europe," says Mr. Menczer, " before we can understand why and how the French Revolution excited so many foreign passions . . . " After the fall of Napoleon and indeed even before it took place, two tendencies were apparent among Continental Catholics ; one was to regard the Revolution as something wholly evil and of which every manifestation was to be extirpated. The second was that of the Liberal Catholics who thought that some compromise with institutions set up by the Revolution was necessary.

The authors and thinkers whose writings are surveyed in this book belong to Conservative or Legitimist schools though they are not by any means, as a body at least, victims of the illusion that the world could be brought back to the pre-revolutionary age. The first author whom Mr. Menczer has chosen, Joseph de Maistre, is the earliest also as regards the dates of his birth and death. It is difficult not to think of de Maistre as a Frenchman though he was born in Savoy, more than a hundred years before that province was united to France, and worked in the service of an Italian sovereign. Mr. Menczer thinks that the *Soirées de St. Pétersbourg* are perhaps the best philosophy written in dialogue since Plato, but the most impressive sentences which he quotes from de Maistre come from the less known work *Quatre Chapitres inédits sur la Russie* in which the author shows a prophetic insight into the possible consequences of the emancipation of the serfs even though matters did not develop with the rapidity which he had anticipated. Those who have thought of the Vicomte de Bonald principally or perhaps only as a philosopher will learn from this book something of his political thought. For de Bonald " became for a generation the leading theorist of Legitimism." He wished to see at the head of the state not a " first citizen " but " a first family " and even to introduce a hereditary element into the public administration.

The only extract from Chateaubriand's writings is from the epilogue to the *Mémoires d'outre-tombe* the work of his old age. It is a passage in which we would like to think that there is a note of exaggeration : " our apprehension of good and evil grows dim as our intelligence becomes enlightened ; our conscience contracts as our ideas broaden. Yes, society will certainly perish . . . . " In the century which has passed since these words were written civilisation has in certain respects reached heights never before attained, yet it would be rash to deny that Chateaubriand may prove to have been a true prophet after all. It is perhaps a little surprising to find Balzac included in this book but his spiritual kinship with the counter-revolutionary world shows itself when he writes of newspapers outstripping kings in ingratitude and destroying our intelligence " with the mental raw spirits which they sell us every morning." Extracts from Friedrich von Schlegel's *Lectures on the Philosophy of History* and Metternich's *Political Profession of Faith* are the contribution of the Germanic world to this volume. Schlegel is concerned with the influence on events of ' illuminist ' Freemasonry, and Metternich wonders whether the continued existence of society is compatible with the freedom of the press. Selections from Donoso Cortés and Jaime Balmes follow and the book closes with a section concerned with the not wholly attractive personality of Louis Veuillot. There should have been an epilogue as well as an introduction.

HUMPHREY J. T. JOHNSON

EDUCATION

THE ART OF TEACHING. By Gilbert Highet. London : Methuen. 1951. pp. 266. 12s. 6d.

FIRST of all, a heartfelt word of thanks for a book on education that is readable. Only those whose job it is to wade through modern writings on this subject will agree how rare a find such a book is. As Joad has said : " The boringness of most books on education is sufficiently extreme to constitute a phenomenon of interest." It is not altogether the jargon, though goodness knows that can be weird and wonderful. It is rather the general attitude of these writers towards their subject that makes them so drearily dull : an earnest, pontifical, " stuffed-shirt " stance that looks down its nose at anything like an illustrative anecdote or, worse still, a joke. One is reminded of Dr. Johnson's friend, Edwards, who had tried to be a philosopher, " but, I don't know how, cheerfulness kept breaking in." And one can also sympathize with Professor Highet when he says : " I have been teaching for twenty years myself : I have several times tried to find a book which would help me to learn more about what I am doing. Having failed to find any, I have decided to write this one."

The aim of the book is simply to help teachers to be better teachers. It does not concern itself with what should be taught, but with how a man can best communicate his ideas and ideals to other men. The problem of communication then is the central one. And it may be said at once that the author tackles the problem in a practical and down to earth way. Theory and principles are, I suppose, necessary as the foundation, but Professor Highet spends little time on them. One feels that he is speaking straight from experience, either his own experience or what he

has seen round about him. I note that an American reviewer (a past student of the author's) says that the book is " a perfect reflection of his own admirable teaching."

The second and third sections on " The Teacher " and " The Teacher's Methods " are the kernel of the book. They can be read with profit by the beginner, and with much more profit by the teacher of many years' experience. We sometimes hear it deplored that there is next to nothing in the nature of refresher courses for teachers in this country. Let us deplore it by all means, but until such courses are established headmasters and deans of studies might do worse than buy a copy of this book and leave it (chained, if necessary) in the Common Room. For a reading of these two sections ought to cause the most seasoned teacher at least a momentary uneasiness. Preparation of work, for example : which of us could read what is said about " Planning " with a robust self-satisfaction ? " Many teachers who neglect to plan their work are, I believe, infected by an occupational disease. Because their careers are not devoted to making quick profits and getting immediate results, they are apt to become ditherers." And in developing the apparently innocuous suggestion that a teacher should know his subject the author draws some conclusions that will, it may be piously hoped, lead to some heart-searchings.

It is, in fact, difficult to resist quoting from this book. His treatment of the problem of the examination system (pp. 118–124) deserves, however, particular recommendation. He seems to favour the oral as opposed to the written examination, though it is not quite correct to say that " the written examination . . . does not seem to be heard of until the nineteenth century." His friends, the Jesuits (" I have already praised Jesuit education so much that it must be obvious that I am not a Jesuit myself, or even a Roman Catholic."), had introduced the written examination, in the form of an essay, in the sixteenth century. And here I cannot help quoting another reference to the Jesuits. He has been showing the advantages of planning, not only in its effects in the well-ordered Jesuit curriculum, but also in its formative value for the pupils. He then concludes : " You may not admire *Ulysses* and *Finnegans Wake*, but they are monuments of aesthetic planning and perseverance, and it was the Jesuits who taught Joyce how to make such plans." I have read compliments that were less left-handed.

It would however be wrong to think that, because stress has been laid on these two sections, the rest of the book merits little attention. The third section deals with the great teachers from Plato to the present day. But this is not just another potted history of education. Following his general thesis, the author is not so much concerned with what these men taught as with how they taught. The effect on the reader is an ever clearer conviction of the fundamental traits of good teachers, a conviction which is strengthened by a series of anecdotes and illustrations of what was good and what was bad in their teaching. Professor Highet wears his learning lightly : it is only when one has read through this section that one realises that it is the result of extraordinarily wide reading, coupled with the rare gift of selecting the small but vivid detail that is worth more than pages of uninspired routine stuff.

The final section on " Teaching in Everyday Life " is a reminder that all of us —tinker, tailor, soldier, sailor—are in fact teachers ; that, consequently, the teacher can learn a great deal simply by keeping his eyes open (open even to the advertisement hoarding), and seeing how people get their ideas across. Among these " amateur " teachers Professor Highet discusses the author who writes to share with others his own deep convictions. He could have omitted that discussion, for this book is in itself a shining example of how that may be well done.

Seán Ó Catháin

EDUCATIONAL ESSAYS. By F. H. Drinkwater. London: Burns Oates and Washbourne. 1951. 25s.

FR. DRINKWATER'S book contains 106 Essays and runs to 412 pages. Some of the essays were written over thirty years ago; many of them are post-war and some belong to the 1950's. The author's range of subject is truly catholic. The bulk of the work deals with religious teaching; his other topics range from Mountains to Mediocrity, from Discipline and Drama to Certain Bad Words. And, in 1950, Fr. Drinkwater "still believed in Education."

It is a singular thing that Religious Instruction, of all subjects, should be boycotted by books on teaching practice—an avoidance which appears the more extraordinary when one considers, on the one hand, its paramount importance, and on the other, its extreme difficulty. The importance of Religious Instruction does not need stressing: "It is something more than the methodical explaining of doctrine; it consists in seeing ALL things and getting others to see ALL things in the full light of divine Truth" (Pius XII). Nor can there be two opinions as to the extreme difficulty of Religious Instruction. The evidence of his senses will carry a child a long way in his Drawing, his manual activities and his games, he can count on imagination and memory when he approaches Literature, History and Geography, but, once he turns to his Catechism, he finds that he has been taken out of the familiar dimensions of space and time which had hitherto constituted his mental habitat. Now he flounders among abstract truths and principles. His teachers find it well-nigh impossible to provide concrete analogies for what has to be explained to him. Even St. Patrick experienced difficulty in this respect. Legend has it that he was hard put to it to bring home to the Irish people the doctrine of the Blessed Trinity; the analogy he offered them was not particularly apposite (though it had the great quality of success).

Where Religious Instruction is concerned Fr. Drinkwater, as might be expected from a diocesan examiner, knows all the difficulties and all the dangers . . . as for instance the danger that may be done by attempting to explain to a child too soon the idea of mortal sin . . . "they will understand when you explain mortal sin to them, but they will understand all wrong . . ." Furthermore, they may come to regard mortal sin as a light matter because they think they have "committed mortal sins" so often; "there may survive for a whole lifetime that early impression that a mortal sin doesn't matter much after all." (p. 275).

Fr. Drinkwater is not "in favour of a systematic course of apologetics even as a secondary school subject . . . "it is not at all suited to immature minds or to unskilled teachers, since it is nothing if it is not a genuine assembling and weighing of evidence." The ordinary Catholic should know the why and the wherefore of his religion as he knows the why and wherefore of anything else that intimately touches his life, but there is no reason why "the ordinary Catholic" (or anyone else) should be equipped to defend the Church. "The Church is not a fortress to be defended but an army on the march." (The Syllabus).

Most of the "secular" Essays enunciate again those principles of educational psychology and teaching practice which hold for all time and which educationists down through the ages have been in the habit of rediscovering and reaffirming; Fr. Drinkwater's freshness of approach and exposition give them the excitement of to-morrow's news. He condemns large classes which preclude real teaching, madden teachers and conduce to conduct unworthy of teacher and taught, "classes wherein the duller and lazier have full scope to practise all the arts of non-learning." He analyses brilliantly What Makes the Good Teacher (and "the supply of competent and inspiring teachers has been strictly rationed by Providence itself"). He comments entertainingly on the Claims of the Psychologist. He writes

sympathetically of Delinquency. (To Fr. Drinkwater, delinquency is a "cry for help"). Indeed, the book is, among other things, a masterly demonstration that even the dreary matters which form the teachers' "shop" may be invested with life and charm.

Fr. Drinkwater must be thanked for the suavity and distinction of his prose as well as for the stimulus of his advice. Only a misguided person will attempt to read quickly through the book; the Essays are of a quality which the seasoned reader rations though he be tempted to devour. LUCY DUGGAN

ANCIENT CLASSICS

DICTIONNAIRE DE LA MYTHOLOGIE GRECQUE ET ROMAINE. By Pierre Grimal. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. pp. xxxi+576. 2,500 frs.

THE compass of this dictionary of Greek and Roman mythology is clearly indicated by the author: it is meant to be a handy repertory of the legends and myths most generally met with in Greek and Roman literature. The student who consults the Introduction to this book is instructed briefly, and without subtlety, on the differences between myths, heroic cycles, novels, aetiological legends, popular stories, and simple anecdotes. An attempt is made there also to indicate the relations between the mythologies of Greece and Rome, their origins, and our literary sources for them. These difficult matters are treated with much competence. Nor has the author neglected to indicate the materials for a more profound study of his theme.

The great merit of this dictionary is its successful organization as a reference book. Each article gives a full account of the received and variant versions of the story related, and this is followed by a list of the principal literary sources with exact references. Moreover the numerous genealogical tables and an Index which helps one to trace a *theme* throughout the dictionary are of immense help in finding one's way around a very complicated labyrinth indeed. One demerit has been noticed by the author and can hardly escape us: the dictionary takes account of *literary* sources and neglects, on the whole, such evidence as is available from coins, inscriptions, vase-paintings, etc. M. Grimal pleads that to take account of this would be to make his large book much larger. All the same the book is the less complete and satisfactory because of the omission.

M. Charles Picard has some graceful things to say in a Preface: "... un monde mécanisé qui n'a plus le temps de produire le superflu, si nécessaire, de la fantaisie, mais souffre obscurément d'avoir perdu cette forme du confort de l'âme. ... la vie serait inacceptable sans les fables."

The book is well produced and has attractive illustrations.

JOHN J. O'MEARA

THE ROMAN STAGE. By W. Beare. London: Methuen. 1950. Pp. xii+292. Eight halftone plates and eight text illustrations. 25s.

COINAGE IN ROMAN IMPERIAL POLICY 31 B.C.—A.D. 68. By G. H. V. Sutherland. London: Methuen. 1951. Pp. xi+220 Seventeen plates. 21s.

GLIMPSES OF ROMAN CULTURE. By Frederik Poulsen. Translated from the Danish by J. Dahlmann-Hansen. Leiden: Brill. 1950. Pp. viii+322. Cloth bound. Gld. 20.

WHILE much has been written in recent years about the Roman theatre, and especially Roman Comedy, scholars on the whole have tended to focus their attention on the fascinating question of the relation of the Latin plays to their Greek

originals. In the book under review Professor Beare's main interest however, is to consider the Latin plays in their present form as evidence for literary and theatrical developments in Rome. He is concerned more with the *production* of plays, as that production is reflected in the plays themselves, than their content or debt to Greek models.

His story is, then, of the Pre-literary Drama and Dance, of Livius Andronicus, Plautus, Terence, the general character of Roman Tragedy, Pacuvius and Accius. But our attention is particularly attracted to what he has to say on the native comedy, the popular farce, the mime, the prologues to the plays, and the organization of the theatre : its seats, spectators, stage, costumes and music. Here, indeed, we have the makings of a good and much-needed book. A wealth of illustrative material has been made available through the work of Bieber ; and Professor Beare has made a long and special study of this particular field. The author has, in fact, given us a book of considerable value, but it suffers from one or two blemishes which must be mentioned.

What are we to think of the following standard in the assessment of evidence : " I have tried to avoid using arguments which depended either on subjective judgments, or on evidence the *validity of which was less than axiomatic* " ? Where there is question of the humanities such a standard is impossible, and the man who attempts to enforce it will accept little and interpret less. This perhaps accounts for a jerkiness in the book which exceeds what is allowable in this kind of subject. It throws some light also, perhaps, on an uncharitable estimate of some German scholarship (pp. 3 and 287). Readers may feel invited to apply very rigorous tests to the author's own work. If they do, the author will find it difficult to acquit himself of self-contradiction on pp. 4 and 151 and confusion on pp. 100ff.

Mr. Sutherland attempts " to present the coinage of the first hundred years of the Roman Empire, to sketch in clear and simple outline its essential behaviour, and to show its intimate and constant relationship with the broad stream of Julio-Claudian history." He follows, then, the movement which is no longer content to seek from coinage mere confirmation for evidence found elsewhere, but wrests from it positive information in historical research. In this book the author demonstrates with great skill how Augustus, for example, through the coinage, spoke to the innumerable and diverse inhabitants of the Empire of his ideals of *Pax* and *Victoria, Pietas* and *Iustitia, Constantia* and *Libertas,* and so gave them a simple bond of common political philosophy, Conversely, the coinage helps us to articulate the elements of that philosophy. Again, it yields most valuable information on the various plans for the succession to Augustus : the coinage prepared the people in advance to accept the alterations and changes that became necessary. The story is a fascinating one, and it is abundantly clear that no historian of the Empire can afford to ignore the work of Mattingly, Grant, Sutherland and their colleagues.

The third volume mentioned above is handsomely produced, and will delight the reader who has no special knowledge of ancient Rome. A glance at the Table of Contents will indicate pretty clearly the general character of the book : A Wise Greek Reviews Roman Imperialism. A Day with a Roman Emperor. Profiles of Roman Senators . . . Town and Country. The Roman Lady. . . . The translator does not always show a perfect mastery of English idiom and style.

JOHN J. O'MEARA

PLUTARCH. Life of Dion. With introduction and notes by W. H. Porter. Dublin: Hodges, Figgis & Co., Ltd. 1952. 7s. 6d.

This new annotated edition of Plutarch's Dion is a considerable addition to the existing annotated editions of the Lives. It follows the plan of Professor Porter's earlier edition of the Aratus, including a valuable introduction, a fine clear text and a very useful commentary. The introduction contains a concise summary of the book followed by a section on Plutarch's point of view in Biography and in Politics, but its most interesting and longest section is that on the sources of the Dion. Plutarch's principal sources were the Sicilian epistles of Plato, the narrative of Timonides, and the history of Timaeus, and the problems involved in these are discussed clearly and in brief space. In particular, Professor Porter argues effectively against Beloch's rejection of the authenticity of the Platonic epistles.

The commentary again covers adequately all the points which need elucidation on the sides of grammar, literature and history, but is enlivened and distinguished by a series of seven supplementary notes on more general historical and philosophical questions inserted at intervals.

All these notes are valuable and informative. In particular a very clear picture is given of the influence of Plato's teaching on Dion and of Dion's projected reform of the constitution of Syracuse. Professor Porter here makes the original and very enlightening point that Dion's removal by assassination of Heracleides was justified by the teaching of the Academy in regard to the possible action of the perfect Statesman. (Politicus, 293 d.).

The text used is in the main that of the Teubner edition of Ziegler, except that in six passages Professor Porter has cautiously introduced conjectures of his own. These, on examination, appear to be either certain emendations, or, if not, at least to possess considerable probability. Misprints are few and not troublesome.

Classical scholars will congratulate Professor Porter on the successful accomplishment of a considerable work of classical scholarship, work which unfortunately becomes ever more thankless in this modern age. The "Dion" would make a useful addition to the texts set for University courses and will always serve as a useful illustration of the difficulties which face a practical application of the Platonic philosophy.

J. J. Tierney

THE PEOPLE OF ARISTOPHANES. A Sociology of Old Attic Comedy. By Victor Ehrenberg. Second Edition. Oxford: Basil Blackwell. 1951. 30s. net.

The first edition (1943) of Dr. Ehrenberg's book was reviewed in this journal (*Studies:* March, 1943, pp. 133–135) at some length by Father Aubrey Gwynn, S.J., and therefore a notice of the second edition need only note the changes from the first edition and perhaps comment on some of the aspects of this many-sided work which were left untouched by the previous reviewer.

The new edition has been improved by removing the references in brackets and by moving the notes from the end of the book to the foot of the page. All the chapters have been largely rewritten and expanded so that the new book has nearly

100 pages more than the old. Euripides has now been added to the sources used, and the general index has been made very much fuller and more useful.

That Dr. Ehrenberg's work consists of an analysis of Attic life in all its aspects can be seen from the titles of his chapters: the Farmers, the Upper Classes, Traders and Craftsmen, Citizens and Foreigners, the Slaves, Family and Neighbours, Money and Property, Religion and Education, War and Peace, Economics and the State, the People and the State.

Both the title and subtitle of the work are, however, likely to cause a misunderstanding, as Dr. Ehrenberg points out in his introduction. The book is in fact not about the 'people' in the sense of the 'characters' of Aristophanes, nor about Old Comedy as literature, but is simply a repertory of the information which Aristophanes (and other subsidiary sources) can provide on the actual people of Attica. This implies stripping the Proteus-like mask of Comedy from the work of the poet and finding the true face of Athens beneath, and it is obviously no easy task. This task Dr. Ehrenberg has faced and accomplished with an amazing degree of success. He asks, I think, nearly every question that can be asked in regard to the attitudes and actions of every class of inhabitant of Attica, and manages to answer most of them. This implies a veritable genius for unravelling the distortions and misrepresentations which are the current coin of Comedy, and finding the reality behind them. Here 'the greatest difficulty is to find out what in our sources is implied but not said, or is said only unconsciously' (p. 8).

Nobody who reads this work with care will be in any doubt about the importance of the contribution which Dr. Ehrenberg has made to our knowledge of the actual conditions and facts of ordinary life in Attica. His Index of Passages cited, quoted, or discussed in this patient unearthing of information runs to over four thousand items.

There is no comparable body of information about Greek life to be found elsewhere, particularly since the realistic literature of Ionia has largely perished. Indeed the only corpus of knowledge on this theme at all comparable to that now amassed by Dr. Ehrenberg is that provided by Attic black and red-figure vase-painting.

This magnificent body of material, running to over 100,000 pieces, is as yet practically entirely unanalysed and unexploited in the realistic sociological sense as practised by Dr. Ehrenberg. Not but what a problem of interpretation lies before scholars in this field similar to that which lay before Dr. Ehrenberg in his interpretation of the idiosyncrasies of Old Comedy.

The Greek vases indeed present a wider problem than comedy in as much as they illustrate both the tragic and supranational (Homeric) as well as the more ordinary sides of life.

The value of the study of Greek art and literature is of course the same. They both show us that a lofty culture needs very little 'visible means of support.'

Dr. Ehrenberg's book cannot be too warmly recommended to those who wish to understand and appreciate the familiar and normal humanity which lay behind and contributed so much to produce the great masterpieces of the Greek genius, with their dichotomy of realism and idealism, ranging in art from the ideal divinities of Pheidias to the divine humanity of Praxiteles, giving us in literature the opposite poles of Tragedy and Comedy, or again the realistic and transcendental facets of Thurcydides, or the empirical and theoretical sides of Aristotle.

J. J. TIERNEY

British Broadcasting

BROADCASTING AND TELEVISION. By Maurice Gorham. London: Andrew Dakers Limited. 1952. 18s.

It is now probably beyond the powers of any historian working from unaided research to write the history of broadcasting and television, even when the period is confined to a portion of the half-century since 1900, and the field is limited to a portion of the English-speaking world, Great Britain. To be satisfactory such a history would need to include an account of progress in radio and television engineering, written perhaps with the detail that only experts can appreciate, an account of administration and programme work, and an account of the effects of broadcasting and television on society. In the last account there would be descriptions of changes as wonderful on their own level as inventions and discoveries on the technical level: as, for instance, the education of a whole community in the appreciation of good music which has happened in Great Britain; or, for another instance, the intense and ambiguous effect on political life and careers as well as on family life, which has occurred in the United States.

While the finely detailed and amply documented history of radio and television is now, perhaps, beyond the powers of any single student, the rightly proportioned outline is not. To write such an outline it would be difficult to find a more ably equipped historian than Mr. Maurice Gorham whose main knowledge of the things he describes is first-hand, for he spent twenty-one years with the B.B.C., edited the *Radio Times* which has a fabulous circulation, directed war-time broadcasts to the United States, and initiated the Light Programme as well as the post-war television service. Although he frequently refers to American broadcasting which he studied during a prolonged sojourn in the United States, he limits his field of history: "This book is mainly concerned with British broadcasting, which has had a profound influence on its home audience and has reached and affected listeners in many parts of the world; and with British television, which is already foreshadowing the future although its direct effects are still confined to one portion of England. And Britain has chosen to entrust its broadcasting and television to one authority, so their history is largely that of the B.B.C." And so in sixteen closely packed chapters which follow a chronological order, Mr. Gorham writes the history of an institution that is one of the major achievements of the British peoples and carries all the distinction of a semi-attached, admirably conducted and extremely powerful department of state.

Much of the credit for the creation and establishment of the institution must go to Sir John Reith whose austerity of spirit, mind and manner became, as it were, the especial aura of the B.B.C. Mr. Gorham gives the credit; his history is not only an account of events but is also criticism. From the beginning Sir John Reith as well as his enthusiastic assistants who did not always agree with him recognised the potentialities of the new medium and laid down what has been ever since the pattern of British broadcasting. In that pattern, institutional freedom had a cardinal position. "This ideal of freedom," writes Mr. Gorham, "for the broadcasting authority was one that he had early formed and done much to establish in the Charter of 1926. Henceforward there were no directors, no shareholders to whom the chief executive would be responsible in the ordinary way of company operation. Nor was their potential control replaced by any more direct interference by the Post Office. Even Parliament was kept at arm's length. The Minister who acted as spokesman for the B.B.C. could always refuse to answer questions dealing with its

detailed affairs, which he could explain were the responsibility of the Board of Governors. The B.B.C. was by definition an independent Corporation, and it enjoyed as much independence as any State-supported institution can do. In this respect it has served as a pattern not only for monopoly but for the chartered corporation system, as applied to an activity that might have seemed quite outside its scope." And this freedom and this monopoly have since been maintained, despite war-time controls and changes, newspaper campaigns against power and prestige, the efforts of commercial interests to encroach on the austerely maintained service, and the ill-natured criticism to which radio and television seem to be inevitably subject. The enmity of the press was largely the fear of vested interests; the press feared that the B.B.C. news-services would damage the circulation of newspapers, and fears were not mollified by the enormously successful publishing activities of the B.B.C. which were a potential field for advertisers. One has only to read Mr. Gorham about the enterprise of *The Listener* to learn how intense the fears were, and how active. " It is worth noticing," he remarks, " that in its various controversies with the Press, the entertainment interests, and later with advocates of commercial broadcasting, the B.B.C. has refrained from using the microphone for direct argument." The restraint is admirable. It enlarges dignity. But some Irish readers may wonder if it is always wise ! For if there is a freedom of the Press of which the Press is always jealous and which it is prompt to defend, there is also a freedom of Broadcasting—and of Television—that sometimes will find no defenders if the microphones be silent and the cameras dark.

What a loss would have been Britain's and Europe's if, during the war, the B.B.C., through an inheritance of unintelligent controls and weakness brought about by the heeded criticism of vested interests, had been unable to rise superbly, as it did rise, to the almost incredible needs of an historic occasion? Because it was strong and could move freely, it performed miracles in maintaining morale not only among the British people but among the depressed peoples of the Continent and the underground armies to which special broadcasts were directed. Two of its war-time achievements, of which Mr. Gorham gives a quite exciting account, were sufficient in themselves to justify pride. One was the system of overseas broadcasts to the peoples of the Continent; and the other was the monitoring service which became the ear of Britain sensitive to the babel of broadcast news and propaganda from the North Sea to the Libyan desert, and from the Atlantic to the Urals. They were achievements that were not brought about without increase of staff and an almost baffling complexity of organisation. " The B.B.C. that faced the task of post-war broadcasting," says Mr. Gorham, " was a much bigger, stronger, more vigorous concern than the B.B.C. of 1939. It had faced and overcome its gravest challenges, learnt speed, efficiency, big thinking and the habit of changing its ideas. It had entered the war with a staff of 4,233 and 23 transmitters with a total power of 1,620 kw., broadcasting for 50 hours a day. It entered the peace with a staff of 11,417 and 138 transmitters with a total power of 5,250 kw., broadcasting for 150 hours a day." And in the peace it resumed progress in its television service which promises to maintain the high standard so early reached in radio. " Its progress," concludes Mr. Gorham, " will be slow compared with the progress that sound radio made in its early days, but it is inexorable, and what people have sought from the invisible performers on the other side of the loudspeaker they will increasingly seek from the television screen. Radio will come to mean television; sight and sound will come together again, as they have done in the films."

The next few years may see the recognition of that inexorability in Ireland.

FRANCIS MACMANUS

English Literature

THE VICTORIAN TEMPER. By Jerome Hamilton Buckley. London: George Allen & Unwin. 1952. 30s.

This book, which comes from Wisconsin, is a study of English writers, schools and tastes from 1830 to 1900, the fruit of a wide research. The author aims not at a reappraisal of Victorian talents, but at an interpretation of the Victorian temper. He has concentrated upon the chief centres of intellectual influence in the period, while widening the focus of discussion to "embrace a number of the schools, leagues, coteries, that lent a tension to the Victorian background."

Many attempts have been made to define Victorianism. As long as no one asks what it is, we feel, as St. Augustine said about time, that we know it quite well, but, when we are called upon to explain it, we know it no more. The Victorians themselves, as Mr. Buckley points out in his first chapter, were quite unable to view their long era as a static entity, a unique wish to be described by a single formula. By some they had been accused of total indifference to "abstract verities and eternal values," others have found that they were "exceedingly religious, lamentably idealistic, nostalgic of the past." It has been possible to recognise that the Victorians—with Carlyle, Ruskin, Morris and so many others—were their own severest critics, and yet to insist that the note of revolt was not characteristic of the age.

Tennyson, Carlyle, Kingsley, Dickens, J. S. Mill, F. D. Maurice are the writers to whom Mr. Buckley gives chief attention. Others who figure prominently in his pages are Arnold, Browning, Huxley, Pater, Swinburne, William Morris, Frederick Harrison. One characteristic all major and minor Victorians had in common was a high seriousness. Even those among them for whom the grave was "the goal" would have echoed Longfellow's "Life is real, life is earnest." Though the British empirical tradition survived Carlyle's onslaught, no one hankered for its restatement in terms of an elegant scepticism. Hume would have been as little at home in the company of its agnostics and positivists, its Huxleys, Morleys, Stephens and Harrisons as in that of its "Muscular Christians" of the type of Charles Kingsley. The latitudinarian spirit of the English Church in the eighteenth century was almost as alien to broad theologians like F. D. Maurice as it was to Newman.

Mr. Buckley studies in particular the "moral aesthetic" of the period. All the Victorians were agreed—up to the appearance of Oscar Wilde and the Decadents—that literature and art must not be divorced from life, that they should reflect the aspirations and perplexities of the literate public and respect the preoccupations of workers in other fields than those of poetry, fiction and painting. By virtue of *In Memoriam*, in which he welcomed all the latest scientific discoveries and continued to trust "the larger hope," Tennyson is established forever as the typical Victorian poet. To Rossetti it did not matter whether the sun went round the earth or the earth round the sun, and Coventry Patmore suggested that the only value of Natural Science is "perhaps" to supply parables and similes for poets and theologians. But they, too, would have liked to see the religious, artistic and practical life become one, and it was not until the Victorian era closed that the pursuit of a cultural synthesis was finally abandoned.

No prophet now arose with the selfless intensity of Carlyle or the mature Ruskin, intent upon relating to a larger synthesis the manifold interests of a diverse culture. The Edwardians, as a whole, cheerfully followed their own pursuits without great

concern for a common ethic which could no longer be theirs. If a few like Yeats and Conrad and Henry James felt the need of fixed values, most of them saw no need for a "conversion" into any moral or aesthetic absolute. . . . By the end of their period many could recognise too late the broad delusions that had underlain their highest achievements. But at the beginning nearly all attained for a time a brave irrational confidence.

J. M. HONE

POPE AND THE HISTORIC TRADITION. By Douglas Knight. Yale Univ. Press. 1951. 3$.

SHELLEY said that to translate poetry is like casting a violet into a crucible. Some have held that Pope's translation of Homer was like pouring the wine-dark sea into a wine-glass. This is certainly not the view expressed by Mr. Douglas Knight in his interesting and informative book. Whether or not one may agree with all his conclusions, he cannot be accused of summing up without having investigated conscientiously every aspect of a very complex problem.

Fundamentally there is the question of what one may hope to find in a translation. For the perfect translation, says Shelley, " the plant must spring again from its seed, or it will bear no flower." One may ask, how much hope there could be that Homer's *Iliad*, rooted in a world so far removed in time and space, could live again fully in an alien climate. Admitting the impossibility of transferring to English all that is explicit and implied in Homer's theme, language and poetic subtleties, what can a translator be expected to transfer? Should he aim at retaining every characteristic of the original, or, as Arnold believed, simply try to reproduce in English the effect of Homer, as a good copy reproduces the effect of the Elgin marbles? And how is this effect to be achieved? Should one endeavour to maintain in an English translation the line and rhythm used by Homer, or assume that one should use in English some form indigenous to that language? In the end, this difficulty is not merely the difference between Homer's world and ours, but the problem of pouring into the English linguistic mould Homer's material and essence. English translations of Homer, at various periods, e.g., those of Chapman, Pope and Rieu, make it clear that each uses the idiom of his particular century, and is influenced by the contemporary atmosphere. Presuming that this is to be expected, one must consider whether Pope's period and the literary conventions which then prevailed were propitious to a translation of Homer worthy of the original. Mr. Knight seems to think so. It is a point which might be debated. It is not easy to agree with Mr. Knight when he opposes Bush and Van Doren as to the artificiality of Pope's translation. Mr. Knight says: " It would be foolish to suggest that Pope's style and Homer's are not vastly different, but I think it is important to recognise that this difference is inherent in the fact of translation rather than in the difference between a natural poet and an artificial one. Like Arnold, Bush at least is confusing an effect of great difference from a culture which has always been recognised as one of the charms of the *Iliad*, with an observable fact about the poem's style. Certain of Homer's events are ' natural,' just like certain of Thomas Hardy's or Ernest Hemingway's, but none of the writers can avoid the problem of style."

Indeed, no writer can avoid the problem of style, but surely we may claim that " natural " events demand a " natural " style. No matter the artifice by which the natural effect is created, we must distinguish (as Mr. Knight does not) between the artifice which produces an effect of naturalness and the artifice which produces

the effect of artificiality. To Pope's satiric genius, the mock-heroic (that most persuasive metaphor of the Augustan age) was more native than the heroic. Pope's brilliant and idiosyncratic use of imagery, combined with his peculiar handling of the couplet, succeeded best when used for his main purpose as a poet—disvaluing. One may doubt whether Pope's satiric genius was equally suited to interpret and to reproduce epic values.

Mr. Knight is certainly entitled to advance Johnson's argument that, if a writer hopes to be read, he will tend to use the contemporary idiom (although Spenser, scarcely left unread by his contemporaries, did not so confine his idiom and style). The fact is that Pope's use of poetic diction and his preference for the couplet were, in any case, a matter of instinctive choice. But some will continue to think that this choice of poetic medium widened the gap between Homer and the possibility of a faithful translation. So it appears to us in retrospect. " We cannot now," says Coleridge, " rid ourselves of our attitude to the artificialities of the Augustan idiom. We cannot imagine the reactions of the eighteenth century readers to a form of poetry which they found natural And what we had in poetry is so far from the eighteenth century diction that we are debarred from sharing the attitude of Pope's readers."

But we are *not* debarred from understanding the attitude of Pope's readers. Like the eighteenth century versions of Shakespeare's plays, it sprang from the assumption that the literary heritage of bygone centuries was a rough diamond in need of polishing. Dr. Johnson, while stoutly maintaining that Pope's *Iliad* was " certainly the noblest version of poetry which the world has ever seen," was fully aware of the difference in tone between Pope's translation and the original. He thus defends the position for Pope : " There will be found, in the progress of learning, that in all nations the first writers are simple, and that every age improves in elegance. . . . I suppose many readers of the English *Iliad*, when they have been touched with some unexpected beauty of the lighter kind, have tried to enjoy it in the original, where, alas ! it was not to be found. Homer doubtless owes to his translator many Ovidian graces not exactly suitable to his character, but to have added can be no great crime, if nothing be taken away. Elegance is surely desired, if it be not gained at the expense of dignity."

If what is added changes the character of what is retained, we may certainly object, unless indeed the change be for the better—unless we prefer (as Johnson did) Homer brocaded with Augustan elegance. When Johnson calls Pope's translation " a performance which no age or nation can pretend to equal," he stands within his century and judges even the future. When we deny his claim, we stand within our century and judge the past. Retrospect is a surer standpoint for judgment than is anticipation.

Mr. Knight deprecates Coleridge's judgment as simply to be expected from a leader of the Romantic Revival. Since, in materials, idiom and form, modern poetry has now a scope and variety which makes the Romantic Revival seem conservative, it is unlikely that we will cavil at Coleridge's point of view.

As to Milton's influence on Pope : it was insufficient to convey to the Augustan poet the epic greatness which dwarfs elegance.

Finally, it is, as Mr. Knight maintains, a question of what we expect of a translation. Opinions will vary on this subject ; yet Mr. Knight is to be congratulated on his scrupulous determination to present justly every aspect of his theme.

B. G. MacCarthy

ENGLISH POETRY: a Critical Introduction. By F. W. Bateson. London. Longmans. pp. 269 12*s.* 6*d.*

THE title of this book suggests that the author set himself a formidable task which, considering the richness in volume and variety of his subject-matter, could only be achieved in a work of greater length than this happens to be. However, when one examines Mr. Bateson's 'Critical Introduction', one is soon aware that his conception of the denotation (a favourite word with him) of the terms 'English Poetry' is limited. His criticism of what he regards as poetry suffers, too, from limitations which not every reader will accept.

Mr. Bateson's book is divided into two parts, with a conclusion. In the first part, he attempts a definition of poetry; in the second, he applies his definition to certain poems. In his insistence on the primacy of meaning in poetry, Mr. Bateson ranges himself alongside critics such as Mr. Richards, Mr. Empson, Mr. Leavis, and of course Mr. Eliot, who first perhaps of all (in *The Sacred Wood*) demonstrated the importance of studying the actual words used by the poet to communicate his experience. Mr. Bateson goes on, as do most of the writers mentioned above, to show how much a just appreciation of any poem depends on the understanding of its social background, which may be established by this close verbal criticism. Now this approach to poetry, as Mr. C. S. Lewis has pointed out, though of great value, involves a pitfall which none of the critics mentioned above can be said to have escaped. Too great attention to the actual words of the poem tends to obscure, in the case of a poem of some length, qualities of design and structure which in the longer poem are often the principally significant elements of the poet's medium. Mr. Bateson's discussion shows the same tendency. The first part of his book provides the reader with some very interesting analyses of short lyrics; notably with an unusual interpretation of Blake's *Jerusalem*, which Mr. Bateson argues in a convincing manner However, the criteria he establishes do not take the long poem into account, nor indeed do they greatly help to distinguish what is poetry from what is not. The Principle of the Semantic Gap is the chief criterion: it is merely Mr. Bateson's somewhat unnecessarily pedantic name for what Coleridge calls 'the balance or reconcilement of opposite or discordant qualities.' But it serves to explain only one aspect of poetic technique, the poet's use of imagery. Mr. Bateson might have chosen with profit to discuss also the other aspects of the poetic function which Coleridge distinguishes in this justly famous passage (*Biographia Literaria*, Chapter xiv). Mr. Bateson rightly insists on a common language and a common literary tradition as essential elements in poetry; but his appreciation of these social aspects carries him too far when he comes to discuss the connection between the literature of the present day and that of the past. Because an understanding of the social attitude of the writer and of the literary tradition in which he wrote is essential to the full appreciation of a poem of the past, it does not follow that 'The man who is not prepared to understand the poetry of his own time *must* be incompetent to appreciate that of the past.' (p. 90. Italics in the original). And when Mr. Bateson goes on to say:

> This may seem a desperate conclusion, but are not many even of the best academic critics of to-day and yesterday—men like Oliver Elton, W. P. Ker, H. W. Garrod, F. L. Lucas, J. Dover Wilson, and F. P. Wilson—a standing proof that learning and a lucid prose style are not enough? (*ib.*)

one feels that a number of questions are begging aloud for an answer: which they do not get.

The critics Mr. Bateson chooses to attack in this first part of the book are not these ' academic ' writers, but the ' Romantic ' critics (amongst whom Mr. Lucas and Mr. C. S. Lewis are cast). Indeed, Mr. Bateson's book is intended to give ' a decent and final interment ' to Romantic criticism in general. However, it must be said that Mr. Bateson displays only a partial understanding of the ' Romantic ' critics he opposes, and if he inters anything it is something which he has largely created himself. It will come as a surprise to many to find A. E. Housman's vague and emotional impression of poetry (described in the notorious lecture *On the Name and Nature of Poetry*) put forward by Mr. Bateson as the explicit statement of what was implicit in the writings of Robert Bridges. To Bridges, Mr. Bateson ascribes, on the basis of a short paragraph taken out of its context, a view of poetry which even the other passages of the same essay show that Bridges did not accept in such a general and unqualified manner. Mr. Bateson's treatment of Wordsworth, to a lesser extent of Coleridge, and of a later critic, Lascelles Abercrombie, is on the same lines: their views are roughly equiperated with those of Housman; and other, quite minor, writers on the lunatic fringe of Romanticism, such as the American professor, Trent, are quoted *in extenso* to bolster up the argument, with additional evidence from novels of Aldous Huxley and Evelyn Waugh to clinch it. Perhaps Wordsworth and other Romantic critics after him tended at times to over-emphasise the effects of metre and word-music in poetry; and perhaps one does find an exuberance and fulsomeness in their writing, a bandying about of terms like ' magic ', and ' rapture ', and ' ecstasy ' which will not stand up to logical analysis: but beneath the exuberance there is a wealth of meaning and sound commonsense in striking contrast to the emotional vagueness and almost complete lack of intellectual content of Housman's lecture. It is a pity that in his criticism of these writers, Mr. Bateson is so sweeping and so prone to over-simplification: for the exuberance of Romantic criticism badly needs to be corrected by logical analysis, and the balance upset by their tendency to regard the poet as Seer rather than as Maker needs to be redressed. For that reason, some of what Mr. Bateson says here is just and, to a degree, satisfying.

It is in the second part of the book that Mr. Bateson's sociological preconceptions become apparent. Swift's *Description of the Morning* is seen as an attempt ' to discredit the *laissez-faire* individualism of urban capitalism ' (177); Gray's *Elegy* is discussed chiefly as ' a plea for decentralization, recalling the over-urbanized ruling class to its roots in a rural society based upon the benevolent despotism of the manor-house ' (193); four Romantic odes are analysed to show ' the conflict between the personality integrated in a social environment and the anti-social " split man " (Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde) that is mirrored in Romantic poetry ' (195); Tennyson's *Tears, Idle Tears* (which was done over by Mr. Leavis in *Scrutiny*, Spring 1945—rather cursorily for him; and examined with tact and understanding by Mr. Bethell in *Essays in Literary Criticism and the English Tradition*, 1948, pp. 72 ff.) is once again dissected to show that ' The social skeleton in the Victorian cupboard looms behind the poetry of Tennyson ' (234). No doubt there is a good deal of truth in these views, and certainly Mr. Bateson's treatment of the poems is always interesting, if often exasperating. However, one feels that the emphasis on the sociological aspect of the poems is unbalanced in a work of literary criticism: the issues Mr. Bateson discerns were no doubt as clear to these poets as would be the terminology in which he expresses them. Further, there is at least one chapter in which Mr. Bateson's concern with social problems leads him to a definite perversion of history. This is the chapter on Chaucer's *Miller's Tale*. This is the only long poem Mr. Bateson chooses to discuss, and one approaches the chapter with interest to see how he will apply the criteria laid down in the first part of his

book. One is disappointed to find that he discusses the poem not from the literary point of view, but from the standpoint of the social and economic historian.

After a brief summary of ' the rise of English ' during the fourteenth century (in the manner of a School Certificate text-book: Trevisa again, with William Nassyngton thrown in this time), and having decided (with Trevisa) that the dividing line between English and French was the Black Death of 1348–9, Mr. Bateson concludes:

> But the rapidity and extent of the linguistic revolution has not been appreciated. It all happened in thirty years. It is as though since 1920 Cockney had suddenly displaced the King's English as the Received Standard, and we were all trying to talk and write like the East End. (p. 132).

As one recalls the English writings of Richard Rolle, who died in 1349, the *Handlyng Synne* of Robert Mannyng (1303) and his *Chronicle* (1338), the *Pricke of Conscience* (1340) of which ninety-nine MSS. are extant, the lyrics in Carleton Brown's collections and in the Harley MS., not to speak of what went before—the *Ancren Riwle*, the *Brut*, the lives of the Saints—and what came very shortly after 1349—*Pearl*, *Patience*, *Sir Gawain*, the *Cloud*, the *Scale of Perfection*—the mind boggles at the staggering ineptitude of this analogy. If Mr. Bateson chooses to ignore the fact that philosophy, theology, and devotion formed the intellectual climate of the time much as physical science forms that of our time (even a courtier, diplomat, and man of the world like Chaucer can discuss Predestination and the Providence of God in an intelligent and informed manner, and goes to the trouble of translating Boethius), one supposes that he may also choose to ignore, in defiance of the evidence, the fusion of Norman-French culture and the English spirit and tradition which was achieved in the fourteenth century, and is one of its greatest glories. Thus he continues:

> The social implications of such a change can be imagined. In the fourteenth century the victory of English meant a discrediting of the whole of Norman-French culture—among other things, of feudalism, of the international church, of courtly love and of poetic rhetoric—and a partial return to the older, simpler culture based essentially on the co-operative open-fields agriculture (*ib.*).

But the perversion of fact implied here hardly prepares us for the shock of being told that the Miller's idea of love is the English conception, which Chaucer sets in opposition to the courtly love presented in the *Knight's Tale*. Mr. Bateson's explanation of the altercation between the Miller and the Host when the Knight has told his story is that ' The Miller, in other words, is going to give *his* (English) idea of nobility ' (p. 134. Italics in the original). After this, one is somewhat prepared for the final shock. It comes at the end of this short chapter, when we are told that Alison in the *Miller's Tale*.

> symbolizes in her gaiety and good nature the Merry England of a yeoman democracy that had set its face against the theoretical asceticism of the Continental church on the one hand, and the practical brutality of Continental feudalism, on the other. (p. 138)

One wonders whether we are to regard Chaucer as a foreigner? or, on the sole basis of this tale, as an Englishman? Perhaps a footnote on p. 135 may give us the clue to Mr. Bateson's extraordinary conception of the *Miller's Tale*. In it, Mr. Bateson surprisingly states: ' The curious figure that Chaucer cuts in his own poems presents a nice critical problem.' The fact, however, is that the problem exists only for one who has been denied Chaucer's divine gift of humour.

T. P. DUNNING, C.M.

LITERATURE AND LIFE. Addresses to the English Association. Second Volume. London: Harrap. 1951. 9s. 6d.

As we might expect from the variety of authors this book is very uneven in quality. Of the nine chapters two are excellent works, five are painstakingly informative, one is (perhaps unconsciously) a misinterpretation, and one is just nonsense.

Viscount Samuel's address on English Poetry of To-day is the crown of the work. Its sanity and wise tolerance make acceptable even to modern minds his plea for clear thought rather than obscure vapouring. The criticism given of modern poets is not just destructive. The author by his optimism and kindness seeks to build without levelling too much. Let his own words sum up his conclusion: " The poet should be something more than a writer of verses, just as the good philosopher must be more than a philosopher, the man of religion more than a theologian, and the statesman more than a political leader. Each of these must have an element of the others, and all of them need to have a touch of the prophet. The great poet must be a thinker ; and a thinker who takes pains to think rightly."

The second address which is praiseworthy is Angela Thirkell's on Dumas' Debt to England. It is not a scholarly essay but it serves to bring home to us that unpredictable French genius, and shows him with all his slovenly greatness and unmethodical gusto rubbing shoulders with common mortals.

Of the five compositions which hold a middle place, W. G. Cassidy's *Wicked Baronet* and J. G. Bullocke's *English Sailor in Fiction* are competent studies on themes that are of specialized interest. In *James McElroy Flecker,* Patric Dickinson presents a picture of a cynical unlovable man, redeemed from complete odiousness only by his flashing wit and exquisite sense-perception. But Mr. Dickinson's taste is not so delicately educated as Flecker's. He falls unhappily into bathos in endeavouring to illustrate literary greatness by a laboured comparison with thermodynamic equilibrium.

The poetic trends of our own age are the subject of Mr. Hermann Peschmann's *New Directions in English Poetry,* 1920–45. He sees Hopkins as the father of our poetic spirits. Some imitate the Hopkin's technique, some seek the spiritual reality beneath. Thereinafter come the Subjectivists, Spender and the Mechanists, McNeice and the Cynics. Even Mr. Peschmann cannot find any order or trends when we enter the sphere of pure subjectivism. He contents himself with a few quotations, leaving us to draw conclusions as best we can.

Keats in his Letters by Margaret Willy places the poet under no debt of gratitude to Miss Willy. Her thesis is arbitrary and misleading, backed by no sound evidence from either the poet's life or work. Though the present writer is no admirer of Keats, he is shocked at the characterization presented in this essay. Were this weakling the true Keats then it had been better had he died younger. There is too much " interpretation " in this *tour de force,* and interpretation is but a euphemism for distortion. Miss Willy uses the phrases . . " I believe Keats meant . . . " more liberally than a true scholar should.

The last, and most damnable, essay in the series is Joyce Cary's *What does Art Create?* Armed with a limited vocabulary of the " transcendental variety," the author manages to produce thirteen pages of bombast. Joyce Cary says not a word about art or its creations that is worthy of print. In this age when time is valuable and paper priceless, the liberality of the English Association in wasting both is an object-lesson in patience and generosity.

I. T. Quin

SPIRITUALITY

THE LETTERS OF SAINT TERESA OF AVILA. Translated and edited by E. Allison Peers. London : Burns, Oates and Washbourne. 2 vols. 3 guineas the set. 1951.

WITH these two volumes Professor Allison Peers brings to a close a task which has occupied him for fourteen years, the translation and editing of the entire works of St. John of the Cross and of St. Teresa. He has worked on the critical, definitive text which is due to the long labours of P. Silverio de Santa Teresia, the present general of the Discalced Carmelites. The work of editing has been admirably done. The introduction is brief but full of information that is really helpful and illuminating on St. Teresa as a letter-writer and on the history of the different collections and editions of her letters down to the final edition of P. Silverio.

Professor Allison Peers' constant aim has been to be faithful both to the sense and to the spirit and style of the Spanish text ; and only a competent Spanish scholar could judge how far he has succeeded in this double aim. But even a slight comparison with the best known existing English translation, that made by the Benedictines of Stanbrook, will show that there is a considerable difference of tone between the two versions ; that whereas the older translation is smooth, dignified, and rather impersonal, that of Professor Allison Peers is more vivid and familiar, has more of the ease of a letter, and is clearly more revealing of the personality of the writer. One feels that the older version, while aiming at fidelity, had an eye out for edification, and had softened any little personal sallies, and such outspoken and intimate remarks which did not accord with the conventional idea of a saint ; that the newer translation aims expressly at presenting the saint just as she was, just as she spoke and wrote.

Even in her lifetime the letters of St. Teresa were being collected ; but the first printed collection of about a hundred letters appeared in 1658. Succeeding editions gave more letters and greater accuracy of text. The edition of P. Silverio contains all the authentic letters which a thorough search in public and private libraries has succeeded in discovering, and it is not likely that many new letters will be found. But large as is the extant body of the saint's correspondence it is only a portion of all that she wrote. Very many of her letters were lost ; many were deliberately destroyed when the saint was under suspicion from the Inquisition, at a certain stage of her reform. St. John of the Cross used to keep her letters in a bag that hung round his neck, but he tore them into little pieces when he found that he was getting attached to them. Once she had begun the work of reform in which she showed her powers of mind and character, her letters began to be prized ; and not at first for the light they threw on her work or character but because of their spiritual value. They were considered, especially by her spiritual children, to contain in a special way the mind and spirit of the great foundress.

Literally whole libraries have been written on St. Teresa and her work ; she has become one of the stock figures of biography. All the historical facts that could throw any light on her career have been patiently amassed and weighed and she must be one of the best known figures in her century. But it remains true that her letters are indispensable for a knowledge of what kind of a person she was. The reformer, the spiritual writer, the great mystic, can be judged well enough from her books and the books of others ; but the woman whose gifts and character made her work possible is revealed in her letters.

She was an indefatigable correspondent, and not merely because much of her work as reformer had to be transacted by letter. Her letters are scarcely ever merely business notes ; there is not one of them that does not show the born letter-writer, the person for whom pen and paper are not merely a means of transmitting or seeking direction, but an outlet for ideas, feelings and moods. It was a necessity for her to

open her mind and soul to her friends. It cost her no effort to write letters and after long tedious business she found relief in so doing. She wrote with extreme ease and rapidity, in a style that was quite spontaneous, unstudied, innocent of all pretension to literary effect. And it is due to that unreflective spontaneity that she is so natural, that she reveals herself so fully in her letters. One cannot read far in her letters without realizing that one is in contact with a rich and vivid personality, with one who is shrewd and sensible, who is gay and courageous, who is enterprising and capable in action. But the abiding impression is that one is in contact with a saint, with one for whom God is not merely the predominant interest in life but the unique interest. HUGH KELLY

CHRIST IN THE LITURGY. By Dom Illtyd Trethowan. London: Sheed & Ward. 1952. 12s. 6d.

A SERIES of lectures given at an international meeting in Germany forms the main substance of this book. It contains matter already published by the author in *The Downside Review* and other periodicals, and a lecture on *Christian Perfection and Intellectualism* delivered to the Newman International Centre in London. The first two chapters are entitled *What is the Liturgy?* and *The Christian Mystery*. Then there are three chapters on the Mass, three on the Liturgical Year, one on the Divine Office and one on various modern problems.

The author has already put English readers in his debt by introducing them to Canon Masure's theory on the Mass in his translation of *Le Sacrifice du Chef*. The summary of it, given in chapter three of this book, is valuable, though it is a pity that direct reference is not made to *Mediator Dei* in discussing the symbolism of the separation of the species. Indeed one would have expected more use to be made of that encyclical throughout the book. Chapter two will serve as a good introduction to the work of the German Benedictine, Dom Casel, whose name is as yet practically unknown in these countries. Dom Casel gave his whole life to the elucidation of the word "mystery" in Christian usage (and very dramatically too, if unintentionally, his death). Scholars are still discussing the exact validity of his arguments. What does seem to be of immense value in them for our practical spiritual lives is the light they throw on the vital personal contact with the mysteries of Christ realised in us in symbol in the acts of the liturgy. The "presence" of the redemptive mystery in Mass and Sacraments and Sacramentals, as he presents it, is indeed soul-stirring. His opponents claim that his theories have been condemned in *Mediator Dei*. From other pronouncements of the Holy See this would seem altogether unlikely.

Dame Aemiliana Loehr, a German Benedictine nun, wrote a "Liturgical Year" based on the teachings of Dom Casel. Chapter six of Dom Trethowan's book makes much use of this. It is hard to share completely his enthusiasm for her work. There is no denying that *Das Herrenjahr* is a book of value; but it suffers from preciousness and lacks Dom Trethowan's own admirable balance. That balance is shown to most advantage in the chapter on modern problems. It is a wise and unbiassed summary of most of the important liturgical discussions of recent times. And, ardent admirer though he be of the Roman rite, this monk of Downside admits that "if our present civilisation is about to disappear, it will perhaps be replaced by another of a very different kind which will develop a very different liturgical style." Let us not, however, anticipate that sad *dénouement*!

All in all, this is a valuable book, even if the magnificent title and the name of Dom Illtyd promise more than they deliver. *Christ in the Liturgy* awakens hopes of a Christocentric synthesis, the formulation of which would call forth his best from one who, by vocation a liturgist, is a theologian by trade and a philosopher by inclination. But the synthesis is not made; if and when the author makes it,

it will have to be a work of longer breath. No reviewer has appraised the present attempt more shrewdly than Dom Illtyd himself in his preface. " The greater part of this book is *œuvre de vulgarisation*. It aims at summarising for the convenience of the English reader the work of contemporary theologians and liturgists ; it is inevitably ' scrappy ' and is intended as a stimulus." The stimulus will, however, be mainly for those who already possess a fair knowledge of the Church Year and the theology of the Mass. The man in the street (or in the pew) who opens it to find " what all this liturgy business is about " will, it is to be feared, think it rather esoteric ; and awed by Dom Illtyd's continental team—Casel, Masure, Parsch, Kramp, Dame Aemiliana, Bouyer, de la Taille and the rest—will retire with relief to his anonymous *Key of Heaven*, postponing any deeper investigation of the Christian Mystery until the Beatific Vision.

DONAL O'SULLIVAN

SHORTER NOTICE

PHILOSOPHICAL STUDIES. Vol. II. June, 1952. Annual Journal of The Philosophical Society, Saint Patrick's College, Maynooth. Pp. 164. 6s.

THIS second number of *Philosophical Studies* more than fulfils the promise of the first (cf. *Studies*, Sept., 1951, p. 383). Five substantial articles—The Modern Attack on Metaphysics, The Logical Empiricism of A. J. Ayer, Experiment and the Theory of Perceiving, The Proof for the Existence of God, Roger Bacon and Avicenna—some critical notices and fifty pages of book reviews : if mere bulk were a criterion of worth, seldom could one find nowadays better value for one's money. It is the quality of its contents, however, that makes *Philosophical Studies* an outstanding publication. Throughout its pages there is an alertness and a sense of actuality that is both stimulating and consoling. Only too often do Catholic writers on philosophy address themselves to a closed circle of initiates. Here, the contributors show a very different spirit—a spirit best expressed, perhaps, in the words of one of the reviewers : " We have extolled and expounded Thomism to one another long enough. The need now is to write it in as nearly as possible Basic Vernacular on the *tabula rasa* of the modern mind " (p. 148). Articles and reviews, all go some way to meet that need. One may confidently expect that future issues of *Philosophical Studies* will continue a work so excellently begun.

JOSEPH O'MARA

The Editor regrets that, owing to a prolonged labour dispute in the Dublin printing industry, it was not possible to publish the September issue of " Studies." Subscribers have been already notified that they will be credited with an extra issue.

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